



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

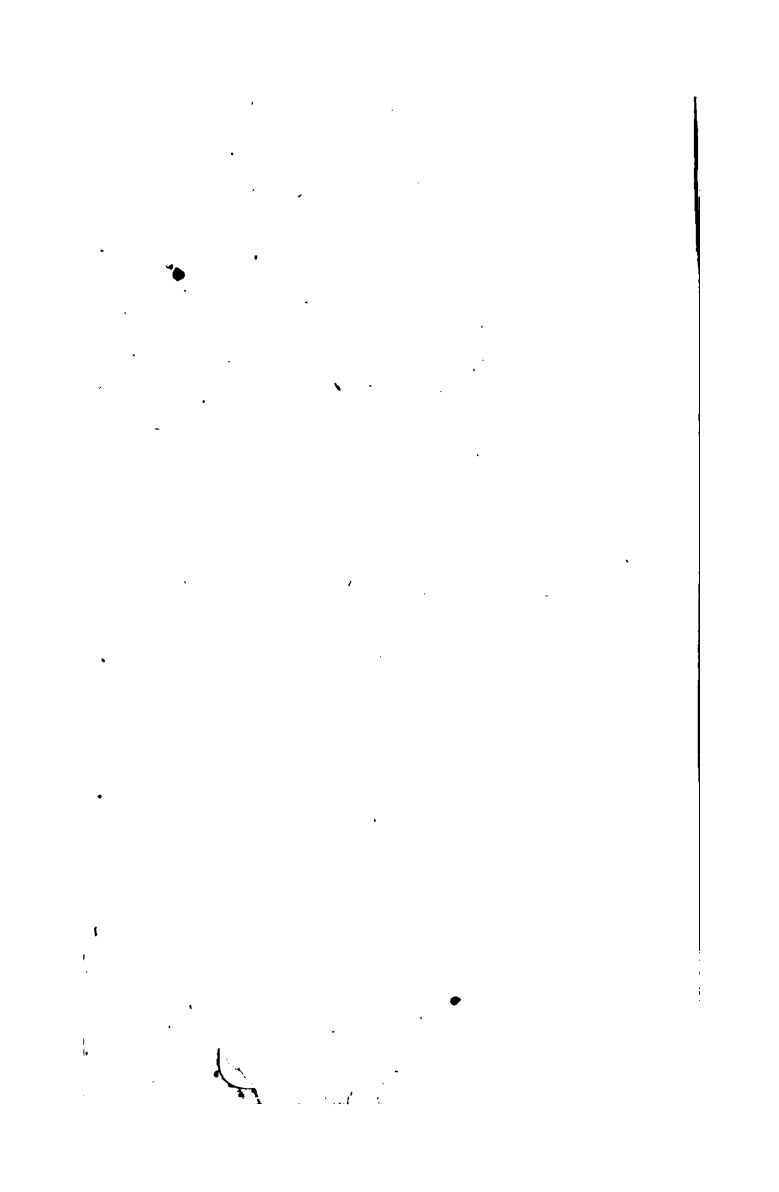


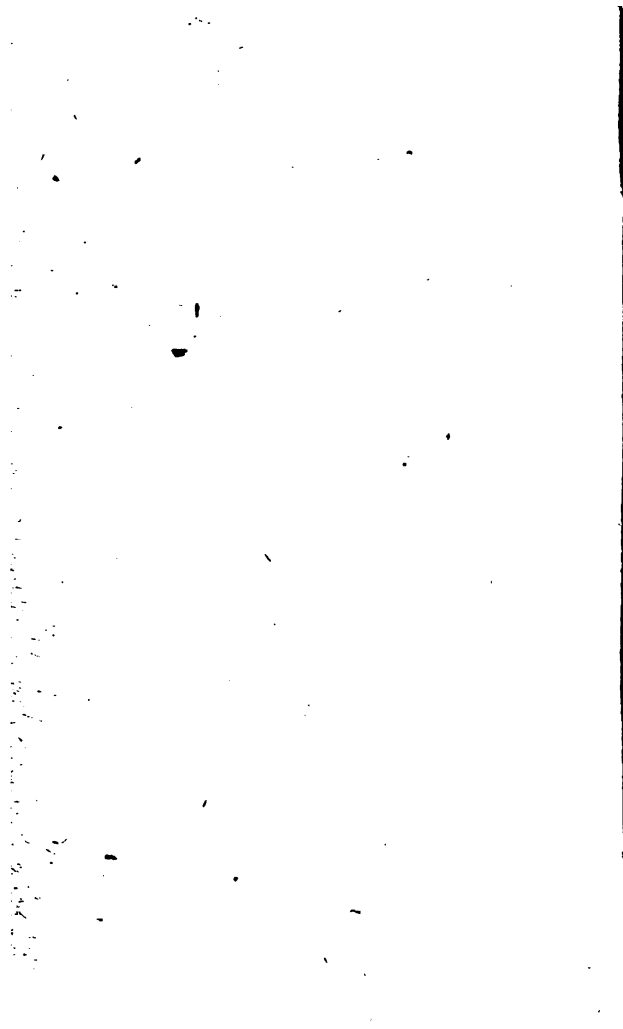
2031. f. 5.



P









FRONTISPIECE.



J. Chaston del.

W. H. Smith sculp.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE MOST CELEBRATED
VOYAGES,
TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,
FROM THE
TIME OF COLUMBUS
TO THE
PRESENT PERIOD.

"Non apis inde tulit collectas sedula feras." Ovid.

By WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed by J. Swan and Co. Jerusalem-Court, Graubutth-Street,

FOR E. NEWBERRY, THE CORNER OF
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD.

1801.



DEDICATION.

TO THE KING.

SIRE,

IT is the peculiar glory of YOUR MAJESTY'S reign, that it has enlarged the bounds of science, increased the accommodations and comforts of life, and extended the researches of knowledge, as far as the daring spirit of discovery can penetrate, or man exist.

Under YOUR MAJESTY'S auspices, we have seen seas explored and lands laid open, where Europeans had never ven-

VOL. I.

A

tured

DEDICATION.

tured before. We have seen too, that discovery has been made subservient to the most valuable purposes of human life, by a reciprocal exchange of the blessings of different climates. The fruits, roots, and animals of our own country have been transplanted with success into the islands of the remotest east; and that rich production, the bread-fruit-tree, will soon, we trust, replace the natives of the extremest west.

While those important ends were more immediately in view, inferior objects have not been neglected. From the labours and observations of navigators, the extension of scientific knowledge has been blended with the most interesting
amuse-

DEDICATION.

amusement; and the solitary student, the commercial adventurer, and indeed every class and description of men, can attend a BYRON, a WALLIS, a COOK, a MULGRAVE, or a BLIGH through those voyages which YOUR MAJESTY'S wisdom planned; and reap the benefit of the acquisition, or enjoy the pleasure of the narrative, without the danger and the toil.

To whom then can a NEW COLLECTION of VOYAGES and TRAVELS with more propriety be dedicated than to YOUR MAJESTY? From you, SIRE, the most important of them originated. At once distinguished as the patron and judge of whatever adds elegance to
A 2 life,

DEDICATION.

life, or solidity to amusement; of what-
ever expands the wing of science, or
humanizes the heart, those works, whose
professed intention is to promote such
important objects, have some claims
to YOUR MAJESTY'S protection. On
this basis I rest my hope, that the present
attempt will not be disregarded.

Long may YOUR MAJESTY'S virtues
illumine the world, and late receive
their well-earned reward in another, is
the fervent prayer of, SIRE,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

MOST DEVOTED

SUBJECT AND SERVANT,

London, October 18, 1796.

WILLIAM MAVOR.

PREFATORY INTRODUCTION.

IN the early ages of the world, the migrations of mankind were few. Their wants being circumscribed by their ignorance of luxuries, they generally passed a kind of vegetative life on the spot where they were born. Their views extended no farther than to the procuring simple necessities; and few countries, where men have fixed their residence, are so steril and inhospitable as not to supply those.

The admirers of uncultivated or savage life recur with pleasure to those days when hunting was the chief amusement; milk and herbs the principal support of man; and nature the guide and the modeller of his passions. By degrees, however, ambition crept in to disturb his repose: he longed to enjoy a more fertile spot, which his neighbour occupied; to possess more numerous flocks and herds; and to lodge in more artificial and commodious dwellings. Ambition paved the way to commerce; and commerce ended in civilization and refinement. By these, the wants of mankind were multiplied, and the mind gained a new stimulus from the desire of supplying them. Hence arts are encouraged.

PREFATORY INTRODUCTION.

encouraged, diligence rewarded, and every faculty of the soul, roused from the torpor of inaction, starts into life and motion.

Such were the progressive steps by which the human kind advanced from simplicity to artificial existence. And if the former has its admirers, it cannot be denied but that the latter has given rise to all the energies which exalt the man above the brute and confer on him an unequivocal claim to pre-eminence in the scale of being.

We will not deny but that commerce occasions as many wants as it relieves; and that, if indolence is bliss, we should have been happier without it. But man was not destined for inactivity, and when his labours are directed to a proper point, they either afford individual profit or pleasure; either benefit himself or the community.

The noblest principles of the soul lay dormant, till adscititious wants called them into action. Who could shew generosity, when none stood in need of assistance? who could display the virtues of charity and humanity, when all were on a level in property and enjoyments? By extending the bounds of knowledge and of industry, we have increased the empire of happiness; he who makes us acquainted with what we knew not before, is surely a benefactor to his kind; and he who supplies a want which another feels, though interest may direct his diligence, will always be estimable in the scale of polished society.

From

PREFATORY INTRODUCTION:

From this short deduction, which we consider as explanatory of the principles from which the subjects of our intended labours originated, it will evidently appear, that though curiosity may have actuated some minds, yet the desire of gain and the prosecution of commerce were the principal causes of the emigrations of men, and of their advances in refinement.

In proportion as these have had an influence on human conduct, new countries have been explored; and the whole race of men has been united by a tie, less pure, indeed, than the social, but no less permanent in its operations and effects.

But various causes conspired to prohibit the free intercourse of nations in early ages; and hence, general civilization was late in taking place. Before the discovery of the magnetic needle, a few coasting voyages limited the pursuits of the most active and the most inquisitive; and travellers were equally rare.

After this noble invention, by degrees, the thirst of gold or the love of novelty prompted enterprising spirits to extend their intercourse. Every attempt brought new accessions of pleasure or profit. A Columbus discovered a new world, and De Gama laid open the treasures of the east, with more facility than the produce of a single kingdom can be conveyed from one extremity to the other.

Since that period, Europe at least, has been rapidly advancing in all the arts that embellish and dignify life; and the researches and narratives of the adventurous voyager and the curious traveller

PREFATORY INTRODUCTION.

traveller have frequently amused the indolent, or instructed the inquisitive.

Man, indeed, as a citizen of the world, feels a natural interest in all that concerns his fellow men. The rudest traits of feature or of character, in distant nations, serve to excite him, by singularity; or to solace him, by comparison. He enters into the views of those who have strove to entertain or instruct him, with a relish proportioned to the dangers they have encountered, or the diligence and resolution they have displayed; and hence, of all studies, not absolutely necessary to his well-being, in a state of polished society, none are more cherished than those which combine novelty with information, through the medium of Voyages and Travels.

Of these, our own country has produced a luxuriant and valuable crop; but whatever merit particular works of this kind may have, there is no general collection that is not become obsolete by time, or imperfect by subsequent discoveries. The early accounts transmitted to us are, perhaps, less chargeable with intentional fallacy than unavoidable ignorance. When science was at a low ebb in general, it cannot be supposed, that the interested adventurer, or even the diligent enquirer, was always able to discriminate with exactness, or to record with fidelity. Much, therefore, that has been accumulated by former assiduity, will be deservedly rejected by modern taste and learning. It is only repeated touches that can
produce

PREFATORY INTRODUCTION.

produce any thing like perfection ; and though some of our predecessors have done all that circumstances would allow, subsequent examination and discovery have proved, that much still remains to be done, to gratify the judicious, and to please the curious.

PURCHASE's Pilgrims, of antiquated date, were superseded by CHURCHILL's Collections. HARRIS's might be considered as a rival publication of the latter. ASTLEY's Voyages and Travels followed. These are the grand works, on this subject, in our language, which can be named in a collective and respectable light ; and the last of them was published upwards of half a century ago. Since that period, single Voyages and Travels have been multiplied to an amazing degree ; and as the last enquirer has always the best chance of obtaining excellence, and of course has used all the new lights and discoveries ; whatever relates to manners, to soil, to climate, to produce, to natural or artificial curiosities, are most advantageously viewed through the medium of recent publications.

But the expence attending the purchase of a complete collection of scattered works on the subject of voyages and travels ; the time they would consume to read them all ; and the little interest that general readers can take in particular parts, interlarded as they are with stale geographical descriptions and unscientific remarks, suggested the propriety and utility of such a selection as might satisfy without fatiguing.

PREFATORY INTRODUCTION.

fatiguing, and convey the most requisite information at a price too limited to be regarded.

To accomplish this, we have thought proper to give a historical account of the most celebrated and interesting voyages, travels, discoveries, and shipwrecks, divested, as far as possible, of technical phrases and cumbrous minutiae. Our plan is, to concentrate the wide range of publications on this subject into a narrow compass, and to deliver them in uniform diction and connected narrative; to preserve every circumstance that can amuse or instruct, to entertain the fancy, and to humanize the heart. Character and incident are the principal traits we wish to seize; and by apt reflections, to make man the friend of man, is our leading aim. To this end, our labours have been invariably directed, whatever may be our success; and though of this we do not despair, we are animated by higher views and more honourable motives, than those which can arise from a wish to gratify vicious taste, or conciliate worthless favour, at the expence of the approbation of the wise and the good, and the dictates of conscience and duty.

We confess we have written with an eye to youthful innocence and female delicacy. Our pages, therefore, we trust will not offend, should they fail to please. To deserve praise, may require the efforts of superior genius or application; but to avoid just blame, is surely in an author's own power.

To

PREFATORY INTRODUCTION.

To the public, we owe this brief and candid explanation of our sentiments and intentions: we are ambitious of its patronage, and have studied to deserve it.

The engravings which at once embellish and illustrate this work, will, in point of execution, be found superior to any that have hitherto been offered in similar publications. In a word, no expence has been spared to render this new Collection of Voyages and Travels worthy a place in the pocket, the parlour, or the library, and to gain it admission into schools and seminaries for either sex.

CON-



CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

F IRST Voyage of Columbus,	Page 1
Second Voyage of Columbus,	31
Third Voyage of Columbus,	53
Fourth and last Voyage of Columbus,	65
Biographical Notices of the Cabots, and their Discoveries,	97
Biographical Notices of Americus Vesputius, and his Discoveries,	103
Discoveries of the Spaniards, from the Death of Columbus, to the Expedition of Hernando Cortez,	107
Brief Account of the Conquest of Mexico, by Hernando Cortez,	127
Brief Account of the Conquest of Peru, by Francis Pizarro,	145
General Character and Description of the Aboriginal Americans,	163
First Voyage of Vasquez de Gama, to the East Indies; with a preliminary Dissertation on the antecedent Discoveries of the Portuguese,	185
Voyage of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, to the East Indies,	227
Second Voyage of Vasquez de Gama, to the East Indies,	255
General View of the Progress and the Decline of the Portuguese Interest in the East Indies,	267
The Voyage of Ferdinand Magellan, Round the World,	275

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION

1009 Broadway
New York City, N. Y. 10010

Open from 10:00 A. M. to 5:00 P. M.
Closed on Sundays and Holidays

For information, call (212) 854-2200

For reservations, call (212) 854-2200

For delivery, call (212) 854-2200

For borrowing, call (212) 854-2200

For reading, call (212) 854-2200

For study, call (212) 854-2200

For research, call (212) 854-2200

For reference, call (212) 854-2200

For circulation, call (212) 854-2200

For acquisitions, call (212) 854-2200

For administration, call (212) 854-2200

For finance, call (212) 854-2200

For personnel, call (212) 854-2200

For information, call (212) 854-2200

For reservations, call (212) 854-2200

For delivery, call (212) 854-2200

For borrowing, call (212) 854-2200

For reading, call (212) 854-2200

For study, call (212) 854-2200

For research, call (212) 854-2200

For reference, call (212) 854-2200

For circulation, call (212) 854-2200

For acquisitions, call (212) 854-2200

For administration, call (212) 854-2200

For finance, call (212) 854-2200

For personnel, call (212) 854-2200

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

FIRST VOYAGE

OF

COLUMBUS.

CONVINCED that it gratifies the best feelings of the human heart, to gain information respecting those who have benefited mankind by discoveries, or enlightened them by knowledge, we mean, as far as possible, to give a short biographical account of the voyagers and travellers, from whose labours we have selected the subject of our volumes.

The history of the illustrious name with which we commence our work, is so connected with his voyages and discoveries, that it is best delineated from them. Of the parentage and early education of Columbus, little is authentically known. He was born at Genoa in 1442; and will ever be one of the most distinguished honours of that state. His father, it is supposed, was a wool-comber, and that himself was at first destined for the same occupation. Be that as it may, it appears, that he studied mathematics with assiduity and success at the university of Pavia; and this study, afterwards carried into action, by the practice of navigation, led him to form juster notions of the

figure of the earth, than any of his contemporaries, and to extend the boundaries of knowledge and of the world.

The correct idea this great mind had conceived of the terraqueous globe, gave birth to his design; but the imperfection of all the maps then to be consulted, made him mistake the object. He proposed to find a nearer passage to the Indies and China, by sailing westward. Venice and Genoa, at that time, engrossed almost the whole trade of Europe; and, in consequence, a rivalry and jealousy, which had given rise to frequent wars, always existed between them. Venice, however, maintained her superiority: she had drawn to herself nearly the collected commerce of the East, which had been hitherto carried on by way of Egypt and the Red Sea.

As Columbus was a native of the rival state, it is probable that a spirit of patriotism first animated his views of discovering a more direct passage to India; and, by that means, of transferring this lucrative trade to his own country. But timid caution, reinforced by incredulity, deprived Genoa of the advantages intended for her. Columbus having discharged the duty of a good citizen, by making in vain his first proposal of prosecuting discoveries for the benefit of his country, felt himself free from the obligation which nature had imposed on his services. His next application was to the court of France, but with no better success. Henry VII. then filled the throne of England; and to that prince Columbus dispatched his brother Bartholomew on the same business. This ill-fated adventurer was taken and plundered by pirates on his passage, and, on his arrival in London, was reduced to such extreme poverty, that

that he could not make a sufficiently decent appearance to demand an audience of the king. But persevering diligence seems to have been characteristic of this family. Bartholomew, by drawing and selling maps and charts, soon acquired some reputation; and having equipped himself in a proper style for gaining access to the English sovereign, obtained this honour in 1488; and met with such encouragement, that he actually entered into an agreement with Henry on behalf of his brother, several years before Christopher had finally secured a patron. It is well known, however, that this country lost the honour that was put within its grasp.

While Bartholomew was soliciting the English court, the great projector, his brother, had made a personal application to the government of Portugal, where he experienced nothing but ridicule and contempt.

In superior minds there is a firmness that rises above ordinary disappointments, and in all projectors there is an enthusiasm, absolutely necessary to give efficacy to their schemes. Columbus was not to be depressed. He now repaired to Castile, and offered his services to Ferdinand and Isabella. For eight years he submitted to delays, to insults, and to the presumption of ignorance, till his patience was at last exhausted; and he had actually taken leave of Castile, in order to proceed to England in quest of his brother, with whose fortune he was totally unacquainted. He was, however, unexpectedly recalled by the queen, Isabella, at the earnest importunity of her confessor; and her majesty was now prevailed on to accede to the demands of Columbus, and to furnish him with money for his expedition.

The patient projector was raised to the rank of admiral; and it was stipulated that all civil employments, in the islands and continent to be discovered, should be wholly at his disposal; that he should nominate judges in Spain for India affairs; and over and above the salaries and perquisites of admiral, viceroy, and governor, he should have a certain share in the profits of the foreign trade and the domestic imports from his discoveries.

These preliminaries being adjusted, he repaired to Palos, to superintend the equipment of the little fleet entrusted to his command. This consisted of three small vessels, the Santa Maria, carrying the admiral's flag; the La Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon; and the La Nina, Capt. Vincent Yanez Pinzon, the brother of the former, both natives of Palos.

The fleet being furnished with provisions and necessaries, and manned with ninety men, set sail, on Saturday, the 3d of August, 1492; and, humble as the strength and equipment of this squadron would appear in modern times, it has led to more important events than any expedition ever undertaken by man, and was pregnant with the fate of both worlds. Next morning the rudder of the La Pinta broke loose, which disaster was supposed to have arisen from some who were averse to the voyage; but Pinzon, the captain, being an able seaman, soon repaired the damage, and they proceeded on their voyage till Tuesday, when the rudder again gave way, and forced the admiral a second time to lie by. This accident, the superstitious and the fearful interpreted as an ill omen; but Columbus rightly observed, that no omen could be evil where men were engaged in a good design. With some difficulty, they
steered

steered the disabled ship as far as the Canaries, which they discovered early on Thursday morning.

Here the admiral refitted and improved his fleet; and having laid in provisions, wood, and water, set sail from Gomera on the 6th of September, standing to the westward with a light wind. In three days they lost sight of Ferro, the remotest known land; and apprehension drew tears from numbers, when they reflected that they might see it no more. To cheer this dejection, Columbus set before his crews the sure prospects of wealth and prosperity; by his own conduct animated the desponding into new vigour; and by a harmless artifice, which their general ignorance could not detect, disguised the progress they daily made, that they might not think themselves so far from their native land, as they really were.

But time was not to be disguised. On the 12th of September, being then one hundred and fifty leagues west of Ferro, the admiral discovered the body of a large tree, which from appearances had long been floating on the waves. Here he perceived a current setting strongly to the north-east; and having advanced fifty leagues farther, for the first time, was sensible of the variation of the magnetic needle, which increasing with his progress, confounded and astonished him still more.

On the 14th, the crew of the *La Nina* had been agreeably surprised at the sight of a heron and a tropic bird; and next day they saw the sea in a manner covered with green and yellow weeds, among which they discovered a live lobster, which made them reasonably conclude they were in the vicinity of land.

Four days after, the captain of the *La Pinta* being a-head, lay to for the admiral, and inform-

ed him, that he had seen a great number of birds flying to the westward, so that he soon expected they should descry the land, which even then he fancied was visible. But the admiral being convinced it was an illusion, notwithstanding the solicitations of his people, was determined not to alter his course. Next day, however, observing a number of sea-gulls, which he conjectured could not take very distant flights, he began himself to entertain hopes of approaching the land; but could find no soundings. Three days after, they caught an aquatic fowl, saw abundance of sea weeds, and were visited by three singing birds. Next day they observed a tropic bird; and fell in with such a quantity of weeds, as rendered them apprehensive their course might be impeded.

These minute circumstances, in any other voyage, would be unworthy of remark; but when we consider the daring spirit that conducted this, and the important consequences it involved, every thing that develops its progress will continue to interest, while the world lasts.

The wind having hitherto been right astern, the mariners were under the most dreadful apprehensions of its constantly keeping in the same direction, which would have prevented their return; but about this period, it shifted to the south-west, which, though contrary, gave the admiral great satisfaction, as it afforded him an opportunity of allaying his people's fears. Yet in spite of argument and remonstrance, the murmurs of discontent became more loud; and a mutiny would most probably have ensued, had not the wind again shifted, and the hopes of nearing land again been revived, from the sight of a pigeon, and the flight of several small birds from the west.

But

But the mortification from disappointment rose in proportion to the frequency that the sailors had been elated by promising signs. They now not only loudly exclaimed against their commander, for exposing them to unavailing dangers from delusive theories, or self-interested motives ; but they affirmed, that they had already sufficiently evinced their own courage and perseverance, and began to talk of compelling Columbus to return. It was even proposed to throw him overboard, and to pretend, on their return, that he casually fell into the ocean, while intent on making observations.

The admiral was not ignorant of this mutinous disposition ; and he exerted uncommon address in keeping it from breaking out into acts of violence. He alternately urged the claims of duty, and the legal authority with which he was invested, which he was determined not to relinquish but with life. He sometimes reproached them for their impatience and pusillanimity ; then demonstrated the weakness of their fears, soothed their anxiety, and painted hope in such colours, as to distract their resolution, and disarm their rage.

It was not till the 25th of September, about sunset, that his distressing prospect began in the least to brighten. At that moment Pinzon, being ahead of the admiral, on a sudden called out " Land, Land!" and pointed to the south-west, where they perceived something like an island, at the utmost extent of vision. This appearance was so grateful to the men, that they returned thanks to God with the most fervent devotion ; and though the more correct judgment of Columbus taught him to expect a fallacy, in compliance with their clamorous demand, he stood towards the supposed island the greatest part of the night ;
but

but in the morning, they saw it vanish into air, and despondency and disaffection returned. The steady intrepidity of the admiral still enabled him to persevere. In three days more, the currents became irregular; and gulls and flying fish surrounded the ships in abundance.

The appearance of birds at intervals, during this hazardous voyage, was a circumstance peculiarly fortunate, as it kept hope alive, or revived it when almost extinct. On the 3d of October, having again lost sight of those welcome visitors, the mariners conjectured they had passed between some islands, and earnestly entreated the admiral to direct his course to one side or the other, in quest of the land which they imagined had been left. Being unwilling to lose the favourable breeze that carried him to the westward, or to lessen the reputation of his undertaking by a dereliction of his object on the suggestions, or by the menaces of others, he absolutely refused to comply. This fortitude, instead of inspiring confidence, as it ought, obtained the appellation of obstinacy and madness; and the sailors were actually on the point of taking some desperate resolution, when a flight of sparrows and other birds from the west once more allayed their impetuosity.

Some imperfect signs of land appeared on the 7th of October; but disappointment had so often succeeded to expectation, that no one would venture to pronounce it, though a pension of thirty crowns for life had been promised to him who should first descry land. The Nina, however, being the best sailer, and consequently ahead, fired a gun, and hoisted her colours in token of this agreeable discovery; but the farther they advanced, the more they were convinced of the deception.

tion. Next day, large flights of sea-fowl and small-land birds consoled them for the disappointment; and Columbus being fully persuaded, that the latter could not take very distant excursions, in imitation of the Portuguese who had discovered many islands by following the direction of such birds, altered his course, and stood to the south-west, after having run seven hundred and fifty leagues to the westward of the Canaries.

Notwithstanding his adoption of a plan so frequently attended with success, the continued visits of different kinds of birds, and a sensible change in the air which became impregnated with fragrance, the animosity of the crew was now raised to the highest pitch, and a storm was ready to burst on the commander, which would have overwhelmed them all in ruin.

The event of the 11th, however, served to convince the most obstinate and incredulous, that land could not be distant. On this day the admiral discovered a green rush and a large rock fish; and the crew of the *Pinta* took up a staff curiously wrought, together with a small board, and observed abundance of weeds newly washed from their native banks. The people of the *Nina* too, had the pleasure to perceive a thorn branch loaded with red berries.

Being now assured of the vicinity of land, the admiral harangued his men at night, reminded them of the goodness of the Almighty in granting them favourable weather, and exhorted them to be vigilant, as he expected to see land next day; and, in addition to the pension we have named, promised a velvet doublet to distinguish the first discoverer. He had scarcely retired to his cabin before he perceived, what seemed to be a light on

there.

shore ; and this being pointed out to, and observed by one of the mariners, gave new alacrity to their exertions, and increased their cautious circumspection. About two in the morning, the Pinta gave the signal of land, which was discovered by a sailor, at the distance of two leagues. The pension, however, was decreed to the admiral, who had previously discovered the light. The ships now lay to; and never was anxiety more ardent than that which filled up the period till morning. A new world was now about to salute their eyes ; and frigid must that soul be, who reads this narrative, and cannot enter into the feelings of Columbus, and participate in the joys of his men.

The dawn approached : and disappointment was no more. They perceived an island about fifteen leagues in length, champaign and woody, supplied with delicious streams, with a large lake in the middle. The inhabitants were numerous, and supposing the ships to be living creatures, ran down with astonishment to the shore. Meanwhile the Spaniards were inflamed with an irresistible curiosity to ascertain the circumstances of this interesting discovery. The vessels were speedily brought to anchor; the admiral landed in his boat, well armed, with the royal standard displayed. His two captains proceeded also in their respective boats, with the distinguishing ensigns of this grand enterprize.

Having reached the land, they knelt down, thanked God, and kissed the earth with tears of joy. The admiral now standing up, named the island St. Salvador, now Cat-Island*, and took possession of it with the usual solemnities for their

* One of the Bahamas.

Catholic Majesties. The Spaniards now recognized him as admiral and viceroy; and to extenuate their affronts and insults in the course of the voyage, implored his pardon, and swore a ready obedience to his commands.

A number of Indians witnessed these transactions; and appearing to be a simple inoffensive people, Columbus, to ingratiate himself with them, distributed some red caps, strings of glass-beads, and other trifles, which they received with transport; and when he returned to his ship, they followed him in canoes with parrots, spun cotton, javelins, and other productions of the country, which they bartered for European toys. The natives were of an olive complexion, middle stature, and well-formed. Their hair was black, lank, and thick, generally cropt above the ears, though some had it done up like the tresses of women. Their countenances were open; and except that their foreheads were too prominent, their features might be esteemed regular. Some of them were painted black, white, and red; but males as well as females appeared in the simplest guise of nature. Being perfectly unacquainted with the properties of iron, they handled the edge of a naked sword, unconscious of its power of harm. They had marks, however, of war, that pest of civilized as well as savage life; and being interrogated by signs how they came by their scars, they answered in the same manner, that they had received them in their own defence, when repelling the aggressions of the inhabitants of other islands that wished to enslave them.

Next morning, a great number of Indians came on board in their canoes. These are formed by excavating the trunk of a tree, and are rowed

with paddles. Some were very small; others were capable of containing forty persons.

The Indians wore neither jewels nor any kind of metal, except small plates of gold suspended from their nostrils, which precious metal, as they signified by signs, came from the south and south-west, where there were great and populous countries.

Every article of European produce or manufacture, however insignificant, was grasped at with avidity; and some of them were happy to exchange a quantity of well-spun cotton, weighing twenty-five pounds, for three small pieces of brass coin not worth a farthing. They did not indeed seem impressed with a belief, that these articles were valuable in themselves; but novelty gave them a charm; and they innocently and ignorantly wished to possess some memorial of a race descended from heaven, as they esteemed the whites.

The admiral, leaving the place where he first landed, coasted along the island in his boat to the north-west, attended by an immense concourse on shore, who expressed their wonder and felicitation by a variety of gestures. He discovered a most capacious bay or harbour; reached a peninsula; and saw several houses and plantations, pleasant as those of Spain in the most genial season of the year. Finding, however, that this was not the land he was in quest of, he took some Indians as interpreters, and returning to the ships, set sail for other islands, which were visible at a distance.

Proceeding about seven leagues, he reached the western extremity of another island, about ten leagues long, to which he gave the name of St. Mary of the Conception; but perceiving that the inha-

inhabitants differed little from those he had just left, he continued his course still westward, and anchored on the coast of an island extending from north-west to south-east, about twenty-eight leagues, which he denominated Fernanda. In his passage thither, he took up an Indian at sea in a small canoe, who carried a basket containing a string of glass-beads and two small pieces of Portuguese coin, which had been exchanged at St. Salvador. It appeared he had been dispatched to Fernanda with the important news of what had happened. The admiral treated him with great civility, and put him on shore with some toys, that he might give a favourable report to the people he was about to visit.

The success of this expedient fully answered the expectation of Columbus. No sooner did he approach the island, than the natives crowded round him in their canoes, to barter their commodities, which were similar to those where he touched at first; but the inhabitants of this island evinced a superior share of sagacity and address. The women here wore girdles of cotton cloth. The natives lived in a kind of tents, almost destitute of furniture; and their beds were formed of nets suspended from two posts. The only domestic animal was the dog, which however did not bark. The seas supplied abundance of fish.

This island affording only simple necessities, Columbus proceeded to another, which he called Isabella. In beauty, fertility, and extent, this far exceeded what he had yet seen. Enamoured of its picturesque appearance, the admiral landed to take possession, and to view its beauties. Here the ear was delighted with the melody of birds so numerous, that their flight almost obscured the day.

Near one of the lakes, of which there were several, the Spaniards killed a large alligator, which they afterwards skinned and ate. This animal is esteemed by the Indians the most delicious food.

Having investigated the produce of Isabella, the admiral, unwilling to lose more time, among islands, which, though beautiful, afforded no precious metals, set sail with a fair wind for an extensive country, extolled by the Indians for its riches; and arrived on the north side of Cuba on the 28th of October. This island exhibited an enchanting variety of hills and dales, woods and plains; and from the largeness of its streams, he rightly conjectured it must be of considerable magnitude.

In order to obtain intelligence, Columbus anchored in a spacious river, whose banks were shaded with tall trees, bearing blossoms and fruits with which he was perfectly unacquainted. The Spaniards landed and entered two houses, which had been deserted by the natives through fright. They however injured nothing, and soon re-embarking, continued their course westward, till they arrived at another river, to which they gave the name of de Mares. This being still more considerable than the other, the ships proceeded up it to some distance, between banks all along inhabited. Here too the natives had fled, and carried their most valuable effects to the mountains, which appeared lofty and clothed with stately trees of the finest verdure.

Sensible that without some intercourse with the Indians he could never gain the information he wished, and fearful of increasing their terror, by landing a number of men, Columbus ordered two Europeans, attended by a native of St. Salvador

dor and another of Cuba, who had ventured aboard, to travel up the country, and to endeavour to conciliate the confidence and good will of the inhabitants. In the mean while, he directed the ships to be careened.

In a few days the two messengers returned, accompanied by the Indian king and his son, and informed the admiral, that they had proceeded twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town of fifty wooden houses covered with straw, containing about one thousand people; that they were met by the principal inhabitants, who received them in the most friendly manner, and treated them with all the hospitality in their power. Their attention indeed bordered on veneration. This favourable reception they owed to their Indian attendants, who gave a very favourable report of the new visitors.

On taking leave, a great number of the natives proposed to accompany them to the ships. This offer they declined; and would accept of none but the cacique, or king, and his son, under whose protection they experienced great respect. In return for these civilities, the two princes were courteously entertained by the admiral.

In this excursion, they saw a variety of birds and fowls; but no quadrupeds save dogs. The land in general was well cultivated: and besides the bread-root and a species of beans, produced plenty of maize, of which a well-tasted flour was made. The principal manufacture was cotton, gathered from trees of spontaneous growth. Of this the natives exchanged considerable quantities for the most insignificant articles. As this plant was only applied to the making of hammocks,

and short aprons for the females, its value was little regarded here.

Neither gold, pearls, nor spices were the known produce of this island; but the Indians pointed to a country called Bohio, where they signified that all these articles abounded.

In consequence of this information, the admiral resolved to visit it. But before his departure, he secured twelve of the natives, men, women, and children, whom he intended to carry to Spain; and so little impression did this seizure occasion, that the husband of one of the females came on board in his canoe, and requested to accompany his wife and children, which was readily granted.

For some days the wind was contrary, and the attempts to reach Bohio were vain. In this interval, Martin Alonzo Pinzon took advantage of the swiftness of his vessel, and left Columbus in the night, that he might anticipate his success, and engross the wealth of Bohio to himself.

Thus deserted by one of his 'conforts, and the weather rendering it dangerous to keep the sea, Columbus returned to another harbour in Cuba, which he called St. Catharine's; while his crews were employed in wooding and watering here, he accidentally discovered signs of gold on some stones in the river; and saw mountains covered with pines, sufficient for the largest masts, and plenty of oak for planks. In his run along the coast to the south-east, he found many large rivers and excellent harbours, and was so charmed with the beauties of the country, that he was almost tempted to fix his habitation here for life. Sailing up one of the rivers, he perceived a very large canoe drawn on land, and another in the water, which though formed
of

of the trunk of a single tree, was seventy feet long, and capable of carrying fifty men. Columbus, having coasted the island for one hundred and six leagues, again set sail for Bohio, which, though only sixteen leagues distant, the currents prevented him from reaching till next day, which being the feast of St. Nicholas, he gave the name of that saint to the port in which he anchored. - This harbour is deep, spacious, and commodious; but the inhabitants flying at his approach, he coasted the island to the northward till he reached the harbour of Conception; when, observing that the face and productions of the country in many respects resembled Spain, he gave it the appellation of Hispaniola.

He saw numbers of the natives, who fled with great precipitation; but some of the Spaniards having at length secured a young woman, with a plate of gold suspended from her nose, she was introduced to the admiral, who, after presenting her with such trifles as were most likely to please female vanity, civilly dismissed her, accompanied by three Spaniards and as many Indians.

Next day eleven men, well armed, advanced about four leagues up the country, where they discovered a town of one thousand houses, from which the inhabitants, as usual, retired; but a St. Salvador Indian having found means to remove their apprehensions, they soon returned, brought their visitors food, and gazed on them with mingled astonishment and awe. The Spaniards reported, that the country was fertile and delightful, the people comparatively fair, courteous, and tractable; and that gold was said to be found farther to the eastward.

On this news, the admiral immediately set sail, and in his progress taking up an Indian who was struggling with the waves in his little canoe, and presenting him with some European toys, set him safe on shore. This man expatiating on the generous and humane manner in which he had been treated, soon induced his countrymen to come on board; but except some personal ornaments of gold, brought nothing of consequence with them. They gave signs, however, that the metal which was the object of all their enquiries, was produced in great quantities higher up the country.

While the Spaniards were next day on shore, bartering with the sovereign of that district for a plate of gold, a canoe with forty men approached from a small island in the vicinity, called Tortuga, which the cacique perceiving, he sat down on the strand with his attendants, as a signal of peace; but notwithstanding this, the Tortugans landed. On this the king arose, and sternly commanded them to re-embark; at the same time giving a stone to one of the Spaniards which he ordered him to throw at the intruders, in proof that he would espouse the cause of the strangers. This had the desired effect; and no insult was offered. Soon after, the same cacique returned in state, carried in a palanquin, and attended by two hundred men as naked as himself. He now seemed to feel his importance; went on board without ceremony, and entered the cabin while dinner was serving up. Columbus received the Indian chief with the mildest demeanour, and the most pointed respect, and supplied him with food and wine. During dinner, the cacique and his two principal attendants were grave, and spoke

spoke very little. After it was over, he presented the admiral with a wrought girdle, and two thin plates of gold, for which he was complimented with a counterpane, a string of fine amber beads from the admiral's own neck, a pair of red shoes, and a bottle of orange-flower water. These gifts were so acceptable to the prince, that he and his ministers signified to Columbus, that the whole island was at his disposal. The admiral on this displayed a gold medal, with the impression of the king and queen of Spain, which seemed, as well as every object he saw, to fill him with wonder and admiration. In the evening he was sent ashore at his own desire, and saluted with the discharge of several guns. This, as may well be imagined, excited the most lively apprehension and astonishment. His reception, however, was so grateful, that he ordered his subjects to entertain the Spaniards who conducted him on shore, and proceeded to his palace, with an ostentatious display of the presents he had received. On the 24th of December, the admiral sailed for a headland, since called Punta Santa, and anchored about a league from shore. Having had no rest for two days, and the weather being calm, he retired to sleep; and contrary to the orders he had given, the crew followed his example, leaving only a boy at the helm. This neglect proved fatal. The vessel was drifted about midnight on a ridge of rocks, before any one was aware of the danger. The admiral being alarmed by the cries of the boy, ran first on deck, where perceiving the alarming situation, he ordered the master and three sailors to carry out an anchor astern. But fear, rather than duty or feeling, operating on their minds, they rowed to the other caraval, regard-

less of his commands. Thus abandoned by his men, he ordered the masts to be cut away, and the vessel to be lightened; but as the water was ebbing away, all his efforts proved ineffectual: the seams of the ship opened; and she was full of water to the deck.

The other caraval sent the men and boat back again with indignation and contempt; and the admiral, seeing no hopes of saving his own ship, now carried his men on board the other. He then dispatched messengers to inform the Indian chief of his misfortune, and solicited his assistance. The cacique condoled his disaster with tears, and enjoining his men to obey the orders of Columbus, by the friendly services of these honest savages, every valuable was saved, and deposited in houses on shore, and guarded with the utmost fidelity.

Soon after this calamity, the hospitable prince, whose name was Guacanagari, paid a visit of condolence to the admiral, and bewailed his loss with the most amiable sensibility. He told him he might command his whole fortune, presented him with some vizors enriched with plates of gold; and observing with what avidity the Spaniards regarded that metal, promised to procure a quantity of it from a place called Cebao. In the mean time, a canoe from a distant island brought plates of gold which they exchanged for small bells; and the seamen in general carried on a lucrative traffic with the Hispaniolans, who brought gold from the interior parts of the island to barter for such trifles as pleased their fancy.

The manners of the inhabitants and the productions of the country were so agreeable to the admiral, that he resolved to settle a colony here; which

which by maintaining a friendly intercourse with the Indians, and learning their language, might be of future benefit to the nation he served. To pursue this resolution, he was encouraged by the voluntary offers of some of his men who fell into his views, and the cacique was not a little pleased at the prospect of having such valuable allies to protect him from the hostile invasions of the Caribbee Indians, a race of inhuman canibals, who frequently molested his shores. The sagacity of Columbus knew how to give importance to this idea: he ordered a great gun to be fired against the side of the wreck; and the Indians seeing the bullet penetrate the sides, and then fall into the sea, regarded their guests with the same awe, and the belief that they possessed the thunder of heaven.

A tower was now constructed from the timber of the wreck, seemingly in compliance with the cacique's desire; and having furnished it with provisions, ammunition, and arms, he left a garrison of thirty-six men, under the joint command of three of his most trusty dependants, whom he warmly recommended to the favour and protection of the king and his people.

This business settled, he caused a few huts to be erected, and named the place the town of Nativity. He then turned his thoughts towards Spain, lest some misfortune befalling the only ship he had left, he might for ever be prevented from publishing the discoveries he had made. Accordingly, having left the most benevolent and judicious directions for the regulation of the colony's conduct, he set sail from the port of Nativity on Friday the 4th of January at sun-rising; and made such observations as might enable him

to distinguish the harbour in any future expedition. The wind being adverse, he made but little way to the eastward. On Sunday morning he fell in with the Pinta, Capt. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who, as we have previously mentioned, had deserted the admiral. Pinzon going on board, strove to excuse his desertion by pretending that he had lost sight of his consorts in the night. Columbus was sensible of the fallacy of his pretences; but rather than prejudice the common cause, disguised his sentiments, and listened to the excuses that were made.

Pinzon, it seems, had sailed to a river fifteen leagues eastward of the port of Nativity, where he had spent sixteen days in bartering for gold with the natives, and in this traffic he had been pretty successful; but having distributed one half among his crew, and retained the other himself, he wished to conceal the amount. He afterwards anchored near a conical hill, which they named Monte Christo, about eighteen leagues east of Cape Santo; but the weather impeding his farther progress, he went up a river in his boat, where he discovered gold-dust in the sand, and from hence gave it the appellation of the gold-river. On the 13th of January, Columbus being near Cape Enamorado, he sent his boat ashore, where some Indians, armed with bows and arrows, and with fierce aspects, seemed disposed to make resistance. They were, however, brought to a kind of conference by means of the Salvador linguist; and one of them venturing to go on board the admiral, appeared so savage in manners and address, that the Spaniards reasonably concluded he was one of the Caribbee cannibals. This man having answered the interrogations that were put to

to him by signs and words, was entertained; and dismissed with such insignificant presents as seemed best suited to his taste.

At the place where he landed, fifty men with long hair, adorned with plumes of parrot feathers, and armed, formed a kind of ambuscade; and notwithstanding the exhortations of their countryman, refused to have any commerce with the Spaniards; and even began to commence hostilities. Though the Europeans were only seven in number, they met the savages with great intrepidity, cut one with a sword in the buttock, and shot another with an arrow in the breast, on which the whole party fled with precipitation. The admiral was not displeased at this skirmish, as he imagined its event might increase the security of the colony left on the coast.

Columbus, continuing his course with a fair wind, made such progress that, on the 9th of February, according to the pilot's reckoning, they were south of the Azores; but by the admiral's account, which proved to be right, they were one hundred and fifty leagues to the west. The favourable weather which had hitherto attended them, now began to change: the wind increased to a hurricane, and the billows ran mountains high. For some days, the vessels were tossed at the mercy of the storm, during which the two ships separated; and each supposing the other had perished, the crews betook themselves to acts of devotion, and the admiral vowed to go on a pilgrimage to our lady of Guadalupe; but the crew went farther: they swore to walk barefoot in their shirts, to the first church dedicated to the virgin, they could find. In tempests and distresses, the Spaniards are still known to seek refuge

in such kind of superstition : it is the strong hold of ignorance and the last which it quits.

A scarcity of provisions increased their calamity ; and the ship wanting ballast, was in danger of being overset. For this last defect, the ingenuity of Columbus discovered an expedient. He ordered his casks to be filled with sea-water ; and with a view to immortality, even when on the brink of destruction, he wrote a brief account of his discoveries on two skins of parchment, which he wrapped in oil-cloths covered with wax ; and having inclosed them in two separate casks, committed them to the sea.

The storm continued till the 15th of February, when one of the sailors discovered land from the round top, which proved to be St. Mary, one of the Azores, where, after four days spent in incessant labour, they came to an anchor. The inhabitants of this island humanely sent fresh provisions on board, and many compliments from their governor, who expressed his astonishment at the success of the expedition, and seemed to rejoice at the discoveries that had been made. Nor were the natives less surprised, that the ship had been able to weather a storm of fifteen days continuance : these gave the admiral and his crew intimation of an hermitage, in the vicinity, dedicated to the blessed virgin, and at this they resolved to perform their vows.

No sooner, however, had the boat and one half of the company come on shore to fulfil this penance, and had begun their naked procession, than they were made prisoners by the governor, who had planted men in ambush on purpose. Columbus having waited in vain for the return of the boat, from day-break till noon, began to suspect

suspect some treachery; and sailing round a point, to gain a view of the hermitage, perceived a number of Portuguese enter the boat, with a view, as he apprehended, of attacking the caraval. The prudence of Columbus was on its guard. He hoped to be able to secure the Portuguese commander as an hostage, by inviting him on board; but finding he kept aloof, the admiral demanded the reason of such an outrage on the Spanish nation, and threatened the consequences. The Portuguese captain declared that what had been done was by the express order of the king; on which Columbus supposed a rupture had taken place between the two crowns, and swore he would never quit his ship, till he had taken one hundred prisoners, and destroyed the whole island.

He now returned to the port he had left; but next day the wind increasing, he lost his anchors, and was forced out to sea, with no more than three able sailors on board. The weather afterwards becoming mild, he endeavoured to recover the island of St. Mary, which he reached on the 21st. Soon after a boat was dispatched to him in the governor's name with five men and a notary, to enquire whence the ship came, and if she actually carried the king of Spain's commission. Being satisfied in these particulars, they returned, and ordered the prisoners to be released. It seems the object and the orders of the Portuguese were to secure the admiral's person; but this scheme was rendered abortive by his prudent caution.

Columbus again set sail with a favourable wind; but soon another tempest overtook him; and he narrowly escaped shipwreck on the rock of Lisbon. Providence, however, still favoured

him, and with great exertions, he at last anchored in the river Tagus. On this he dispatched an express by land to their Catholic majesties with the news of his arrival, and another to the king of Portugal, requesting his permission to anchor before the city.

On the 5th of March, an armed boat came along side of the admiral, and required him to give an account of himself to the king's officers, as was customary on entering that river. The spirit of Columbus would not suffer him to submit to this indignity. As the king of Spain's admiral, he gave them to understand, that he could not comply. The Portuguese finding him resolute, demanded a sight of the Spanish monarch's letter: this was readily produced; on which a suitable report being made, the commander immediately came on board with military music, and many expressions of friendly congratulation. No sooner was the nature of the voyage blazoned in Lisbon, than the whole river was covered with boats. The Indians and the particulars of the discovery were irresistible novelties and attractions. The king himself sent presents of necessaries and refreshments, accompanied with felicitations; and desired to see Columbus before he left his dominions. The admiral at first hesitated; but reflecting that the two nations were at peace, he at last acceded to the sovereign's request, and waited on his majesty at the palace of Valparaíso, about nine leagues from Lisbon. The king ordered all the nobility of his court to advance and meet him; and when the admiral was introduced into his presence, - he insisted on his being covered, and sitting down. Having heard the recital of his adventures

tures with apparent pleasure, he offered to supply him with whatever he stood in need of; though he could not help observing, that the right of conquest belonged to him, as Columbus had first been in the service of Portugal. The admiral modestly assigned his reasons for being of a different opinion. "It is very well," replied the king, "justice will doubtless be done."

Considerable offers were made to re engage the admiral; and every honour and distinction was paid him. The king even sent to inform him, after the interview, that should he be disposed to travel to Castile by land, every accommodation on the road should be provided him. Columbus, with suitable acknowledgments, declined this flattering offer; and setting sail from Lisbon, came to an anchor in the port of Palos, on the 15th of March, after an absence of more than seven months.

The people attended his landing in procession; and thanks to the Almighty, for his protection, were mixed with admiration of the hero who had successfully encountered so many dangers, and laid open new regions, of which, however, the importance could not even be conjectured. By this time, Pinzon was arrived in Galicia, and was eager to carry the first news of the discoveries to court; but being forbid to proceed without the admiral under whose conduct he sailed, the repulse made such an impression on his mind, that he fell sick, and returning to his native place, in a few days breathed his last.

Meanwhile Columbus set out for Barcelona, where the court then resided; and his whole journey might be compared to a triumph. All ranks flocked round him, eager to see this intre-

pid adventurer, and the Indians in his train. He reached Barcelona about the middle of April, and new distinctions awaited him. The streets could scarcely contain the crowds that pressed on him; and to heighten public curiosity, the productions of the new-discovered regions were carried uncovered. To do him more signal honour, their majesties ordered their royal throne to be placed in public, on which they seated themselves under a canopy of cloth of gold. When the admiral approached to kiss hands, they stood up, and caused him to be seated in their presence, and treated him as a grandee of the first class. Columbus then recited the principal particulars of his voyage, the discoveries he had made, and the hopes he entertained of finding still more important accessions to the dominions of Spain. He showed the Indians as they appeared in their native climes; and displayed the riches of the new world. Having finished his narrative, their majesties kneeling down, thanked God, with tears of gratitude, which act of devotion was immediately followed by a grand Te Deum.

Never was man treated with more honour and distinction than Columbus at this period. In the king's excursions round Barcelona, he kept him always by his side; an honour which had never been conferred but on princes of the blood; and which, perhaps, was more invidious than desirable.

But the regard of their majesties for the admiral was not confined to unsubstantial forms: he was gratified with new patents, confirming and enlarging his former privileges; and extending his viceroyalty and command over all the countries he had discovered, or might discover in future.

The

The more the success of this expedition was canvassed, the more important it appeared; and it was immediately resolved, that Columbus should return with a powerful armament, to prosecute his discoveries. Not satisfied with this, the king dispatched an ambassador to Pope Alexander VI. to obtain his apostolic sanction to the new dominions, and an exclusive title to future discoveries in the same quarter. The holy father made no difficulty in complying with this request; and as if he had been lord of the world, drew a line from pole to pole at the distance of one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, and bestowed this extensive track of the globe on their Catholic majesties. Such was the original title of Spain to America, superadded to the right of discovery. In vain shall we trace the foundation of either, to validity, from religion or justice; but ambition, intrenched behind power, is satisfied with the semblance of truth.

At this moment it is a question undecided, if Europe lost or gained more by the discovery of America, or rather by colonizing it. Columbus, however, will ever enjoy the pre-eminence that is due to superior penetration and perseverance; nor can we contemplate his humane and enlightened conduct in general, without paying him the tribute of our praise.



DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

SECOND VOYAGE

OF

COLUMBUS.

THE fame and merits of Columbus already made the malignant passions of jealousy and envy rankle in the hearts of those who had opposed his original plans, or wished to detract from his success. But all those emotions were for the present stifled; and the necessary measures being concerted for the prosecution of his future undertakings, with an activity proportioned to the objects in view, in a short space, a fleet of seventeen vessels was equipped, stored with provisions, implements for improvements, and commodities for traffic. Many artizans and labourers were engaged; and so great was the thirst of gold, that numbers were desirous of entering into this service, beyond what could be accepted. The admiral restricted himself to fifteen hundred persons of all descriptions; and having taken on board some of the most useful European animals, set sail from the road of Cadiz, on the 25th of September 1493, and immediately stood for the Canary Islands, where he intended to take in refreshments. He arrived at the Grand Canary on the

2d of October; and on the 7th continued his voyage for the West Indies, as they were now called, in contradistinction to the East.

A prosperous gale attended them for four hundred leagues to the westward of Gomera; nor did they fall in with any of the weeds, which had been so plentiful in the former voyage. On the 26th, at night, the mariners perceived those lights which they call the body of St. Elmo, to which they sang litanies and prayers, in full confidence that no danger would now ensue from any storm, however violent.

On the 2d of November, a great alteration in the winds and sky took place; and it poured down torrents of rain. From this the admiral concluded they were near land; nor was he wrong in his conjecture; for, at day-break, they descried a high mountainous island, about seven leagues to the westward, which he named Dominica, because it was discovered on Sunday morning. Three other islands were discovered in the vicinity; when the people, assembling on the poop, sang *Salve regina*, and returned thanks to God for their prosperous voyage. The east side of Dominica affording no convenient anchorage, they stood over to another island, which Columbus named Marigalante, from his own ship; and landing, took possession with the usual solemnities.

He soon sailed to another island, which he denominated St. Mary-of Guadaloupe, in conformity to a promise made to the friars of a convent bearing that name. At the distance of two leagues from this shore, they espied a very high rock, terminating in a point, from which gushed a natural cascade with prodigious noise. Having landed
some

some men, they advanced to a kind of town, which was abandoned by all the inhabitants, except some children, to whose arms they tied a few presents, in token of amity. Here they saw geese, a variety of parrots, and several fruits, particularly pine apples of exquisite taste and flavour. They refrained from meddling with any of the domestic utensils or manufactures, that the natives might conceive the better opinion of the morality of their visitors.

Next day, the admiral sent two boats ashore, to open, if possible, some communication with the natives; and the crews soon returned with two young men, who, it appeared, had been in a state of captivity. The boats, returning again for some of the people who had been left behind, found six women in their company, who had fled to their protection. These the admiral presented with beads and bells, and dismissed, contrary to their inclinations; for they were no sooner landed, than the Caribbees robbed them in the sight of their benefactors. Next opportunity they had, these poor creatures leapt into the boat, and implored the protection of the Spaniards, giving them to understand, that the islanders had eaten their husbands, and retained them in slavery. They were therefore brought on board, when they gave the admiral to understand, that towards the south were many islands and a large continent; and they pointed out the situation of Hispaniola. For this island Columbus would instantly have proceeded, had not one of his captains and eight men been on shore without leave. To recover them, he sent a party ashore with musquets and trumpets, to give the signal of recal. This expedient proving unsuccessful, he ordered forty men, under Cap-
tain

tain Hoidea, to range the country, and to make observations on its produce. They reported that they found mastic, aloes, sanders, ginger, frankincense, and abundance of cotton; that birds of various species were in abundance, and that they crossed several rivers, some of which were deep and spacious.

While absent on this excursion, the stragglers returned of their own accord, and said they had been bewildered in the woods; but to punish their presumption, the captain was ordered into irons, and the men were abridged of their usual allowance. Having made this example of necessary severity, Columbus himself landed; and entering some of the houses, found plenty of cotton, raw and spun, and numbers of human skulls, and bones suspended in baskets. The natives seemed to live and lodge more comfortably than any of those he had visited in his first voyage.

On the 10th of November, he sailed in quest of Hispaniola, and passed an island which he called Mountserratt, from its extraordinary elevation; the inhabitants of which, he learned, had been totally devoured by the Caribbees. In his progress, he passed islands, to which he gave the respective names of St. Mary Rodonda, Antigua, and St. Martin, near the last of which he came to an anchor; and, on weighing, found pieces of coral adhering to the flukes. On account of bad weather, he again anchored at another island, where they secured four women and three children, and soon after fell in with a canoe, in which were four men and a woman. These seeing an escape was impracticable, put themselves in a posture of defence; and the female discharged an arrow with such force, that it actually pierced
a strong

a strong target. The canoe being accidentally upset, they betook themselves to swimming, and one of them used his bow with as much dexterity as if he had been on land. All the males were eunuchs, and had been castrated by the Caribbees to increase their fatness.

Departing from thence, Columbus continued his course; leaving to the northward fifty islands, to the largest of which he gave the name of St. Ursula, and to the rest that of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. He then anchored in a bay, on the west side of what he called St. John Baptist, where the mariners caught plenty of fish. In the vicinity of the bay, they visited some well-built houses with a square in front, and flanked on the sides with cane-towers, having their tops interwoven with greens.

On the 14th he arrived in the bay of Samana in Hispaniola, where he sent on shore one of his Indian natives, now a convert to Christianity, who undertook for the submission of his countrymen. From thence he proceeded for the town of Nativity; and, coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Christo, some of his men discovered two bodies of men, with a rope about their necks, suspended on a kind of cross. This did not augur well; but whether the sufferers were Christians or natives, they could not tell.

Next day a number of Indians came on board, with apparent confidence and cordiality; and, pronouncing several Spanish words, the apprehensions of the admiral began to be allayed. On the morrow, however, his doubts were at an end; for, on anchoring near the town of Nativity, some Indians came along side, and enquired for him
by

by name, presenting a compliment from the cacique Guacanagari. From them he had the sorrow to learn, that the greater part of his colony was dead, and the rest gone into distant countries. Columbus concealed his suspicions, and dismissed the messenger with presents for the prince.

Ruin and desolation met his view, on entering the port of the Nativity; the town was burnt to the ground, and not a soul was to be seen. The bodies of eleven Spaniards were discovered, who seemed to have been dead a month. Ruminating with regret and resentment on this disastrous event, he received a visit from the brother of the cacique, who informed him, that he had scarcely failed, before the colony began to quarrel; each person endeavouring to amass as much gold, and to monopolize as many women as suited his appetite or his avarice; that having committed a murder on one of their associates, ten of them had retired into the dominions of Caunabo, who was lord of the mines, by whom they were put to death, and who afterwards destroyed the town with all the inhabitants. He farther represented, that Guacanagari having espoused the cause of the Spaniards, was wounded in the conflict; and in consequence was now under confinement. This story exactly tallied with intelligence received from some Spaniards, who had been sent up the country to reconnoitre. The admiral therefore paid the cacique a visit next day, and was received with every token of affection and concern. The prince repeated the melancholy tale with marks of unfeigned regret; and displayed his own wounds and those of his men, which had been received in defence of the settlement.

ment. Compliments of condolence being passed, the cacique presented the admiral with eight strings of white, red, and green stones, a string of gold beads, a regal crown of the same metal, and three calabashes full of gold dust, weighing about two pounds. In return for such valuable articles, Columbus gave him toys to the amount of three reals, which he highly prized; and though extremely ill, insisted on attending his guest to the fleet, where he first saw some horses, with surprise. He was afterwards instructed in the mysteries of the Christian religion, which, with some hesitation, he embraced.

The admiral being disgusted at the sight of a place which had been the scene of so many disasters, sailed to the eastward with his whole fleet; and passing the small though pleasant isles of Monte Christo, anchored before an Indian town, where he designed to plant a colony.

Having landed those that were intended for settlers in a commodious plain, he built a tower to which he gave the appellation of Isabella. The spot lay under a rock, on which a fort might be easily erected; the harbour was large, and in the vicinity ran a stream of excellent water, from which the town might conveniently be supplied. At no great distance, the mines of Cebao were said to lie. To ascertain this, the admiral dispatched a captain and fifteen men; and on the 2d of February, he sent off twelve of his ships to Castile under the command of Antonio de Torres.

The party sent to explore the country, informed the admiral, that on the second day, they came to the pass of an almost inaccessible mountain; and at the distance of every league, found a cacique, by whom they were hospitably received.

ed. On the sixth day, they reached the mines of Cebao, where they actually saw the Indians collecting gold from a small river, as they afterwards did from many others of the same province.

This grateful intelligence assisted to revive the admiral, who had experienced a fit of sickness from fatigue; and on the 12th of March he set out for Cebao, well attended by men on foot and horseback, leaving, however, a strong guard under the command of his brother, Diego Columbus. This precaution he took in consequence of a conspiracy which he had detected and quelled on board, and likewise to secure the settlers from any sudden attack. He took such necessaries with him as he judged proper to build a fort in the province of Cebao, for the protection of those he meant to leave there to gather gold; and to intimidate the natives, he marched his people through their villages in rank and file with arms and accoutrements, trumpets sounding, and colours flying. The inhabitants seemed to have no idea of private property: they endeavoured to make free with whatever pleased their fancy, and shewed surprise at meeting with a repulse. The whole way was agreeably diversified with pleasant mountains, covered with wild vines, and various sorts of fragrant trees.

On the 14th of March, the admiral proceeded for the river of Canes; and soon reached another to which he gave the appellation of the Gold River, because here he discovered some grains of that precious metal. Having with some difficulty passed this large volume of water, he found a considerable town with the doors barricaded against him
with

with canes. He entered the province of Cebao on the 16th, which though not very fertile, yields plenty of grafs, and is watered by rivers abounding in gold.

His first attention was directed to the building of a fort in the centre of the mines, and in a situation naturally strong. This fortification he called the-castle of St. Thomas. It was garrisoned by fifty-six men, under the conduct of Peter Margarite.

The admiral having communicated his instructions and advice to the garrison, set out on his return for Isabella, where he found cucumbers and melons raised from European seeds, fit for the table; and ears of wheat, which had been sown only two months, ripe and luxuriant. Vetches produced a crop in twenty-five days, and sugar-canes budded in the same space. Columbus saw and admired the fertility of the soil; nor were the climate and the water less agreeable to his wishes.

A messenger arrived on the 1st of April, with intelligence, that the cacique Caunabo was preparing to attack the fort of St. Thomas. To this Columbus gave little credit, as he did not suppose the natives had either resolution or force to make any impression on it; but wishing to leave every thing in quiet, before he proceeded on farther discoveries, he dispatched a reinforcement of seventy men. Meanwhile he completed his town, which was regularly disposed, and supplied with water by an artificial canal. He likewise resolved to send all the superfluous hands back to Spain, European provisions beginning to fail, and the health of several, in consequence, appearing to decline. The more robust, he ordered to tra-

verse the island, that they might make discoveries, and become habituated to the Indian diet.

Accordingly four hundred Spaniards departed from Isabella on the 29th of April, and having crossed the river del Oro, apprehended a cacique, whom, with his brother, they sent to the admiral in irons for breach of trust. Another cacique, relying on the services he had done the Spaniards, accompanied the prisoners to Isabella, in order to intercede for their liberation. The admiral received him courteously, and, to enhance the value of the favour he intended to grant, commanded the delinquents to be brought out for execution. The mediator, with a flood of tears, begged for their lives, which were granted to his friendship and solicitations. Immediately after their release, a person on horseback arrived from St. Thomas's, who told the admiral that he had rescued four Spaniard's, who had been taken by the cacique's subjects by way of reprisal, and that four hundred persons fled at the very sight of his horse.

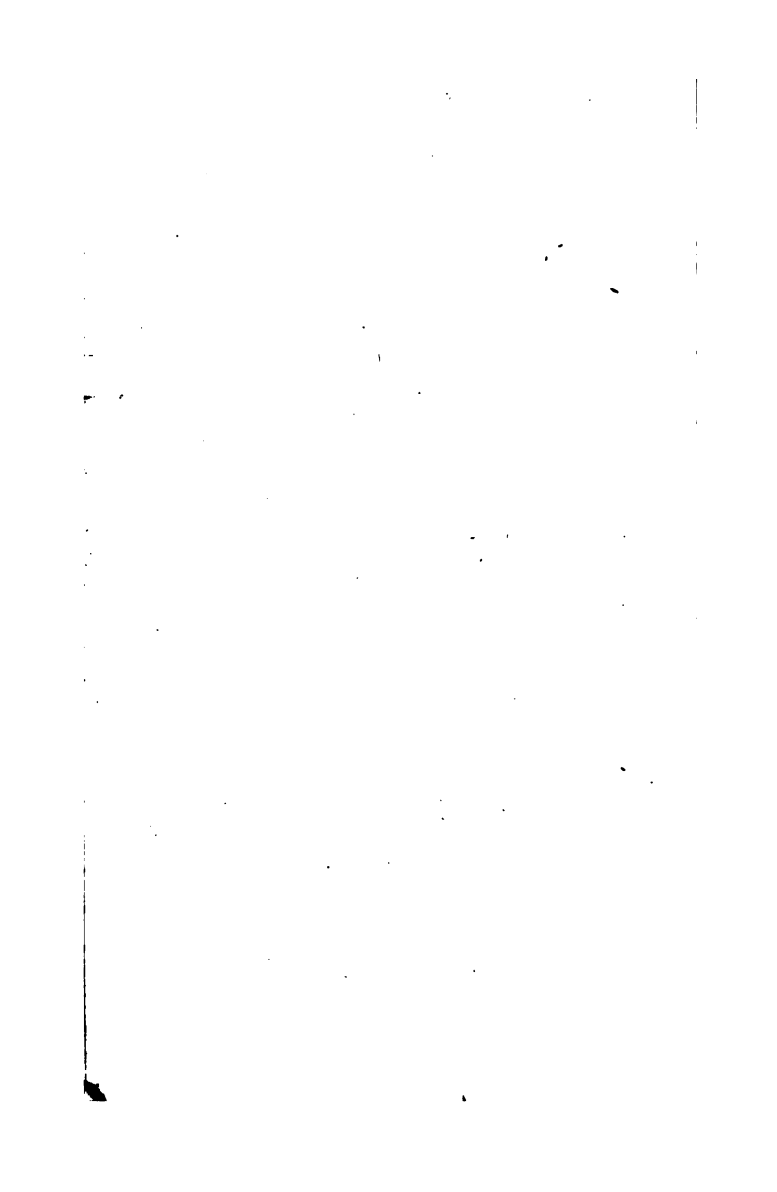
Columbus having made preparations for a new expedition, left a council, of which his brother was president, to govern in his absence. He then sailed to Cuba; and on the 3d of May discovered Jamaica, where he was informed there was plenty of gold. This island appeared beautiful in the extreme. A number of natives came on board to barter provisions for toys. Coasting along the shore, he sent out his boats to sound, when, they were unexpectedly surrounded by armed canoes. The Spaniards, however, not being intimidated, saluted the assailants with a flight of arrows, by which several were wounded, and the rest fled with precipitation. The admiral



Kocher del. G. f.

*"The mediator with a flood of tears,
begged for their lives."*

pa. 40



ral having repaired his ship, stood over, again, for Cuba, determined to discover whether it was an island or a continent. The same time a young Jamaica Indian requested to accompany Columbus to Spain ; and, in spite of the remonstrances of his countrymen and friends, persisted in his resolution. It is needless to say he met with a kind reception.

Having reached the point of Cuba, which he denominated Cabo de Santa Cruz, he was overtaken by a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning. He found the whole sea in this quarter interspersed with little sandy islands, which render the navigation very dangerous. Close to the shore, some of them, however, were very pleasant ; and therefore he styled them the Queen's Garden. On these, they saw scarlet-coloured cranes, abundance of turtles, and an infinite quantity of singing birds. The very air was impregnated with fragrance, and the senses were recreated with delight.

In one of the channels separating these islands, they observed some fishermen in a canoe, exercising their vocation after a new and curious form. A string being tied round the tail of some small fishes, called *reves*, which had been taught to encounter their fellows of the deep, by clinging fast to them, both are drawn up together. The Spaniards saw them catch a tortoise by this means ; the *reve* being wound round its neck. It is said that these decoy fishes will sometimes attack sharks of the largest size. The Indians made a present to the admiral of the fish they had caught ; for which he gave them a suitable return. He now began to be in great want of provisions ; and his health was much impaired

by fatigue, and want of rest, which he could not venture to enjoy amid such a dangerous navigation.

On the 22d of May, Columbus landed on one of these larger, surrounding islands, to which he gave the name of St. Mary. Here he entered a town, abandoned by the inhabitants; where he found nothing but fish and dogs. Continuing his voyage to the north-east, he became still more embarrassed by the vast number of flats and islands which opened in unvaried succession to his view. With all his precautions, the ship was frequently aground; and seeing no probable termination of the dangers he incessantly encountered, he was induced to relinquish his design of making the circuit of the island, till he should return to Spain.

The admiral now touched again at Cuba. On this occasion one of the mariners having ascended a tree, saw about thirty persons armed with spears and slaves called macanas; and among them one clad in a white vest, reaching to his knees, and carried by two men dressed in a similar manner, with complexions as fair as Spaniards. As these Indians hastily retired, Columbus next day sent several people on shore to ascertain the truth of this report, but without success.

Some canoes coming off with a supply of water and provisions, one of the Indians was detained as an interpreter; on promise, however, of being set at liberty as soon as he had given the intelligence required. From him the admiral was given to understand, that Cuba was an island; that the king never deigned to address his subjects but by signs; and that the surrounding coast was low, and full of islets.

Next

Next day they fell in with such a number of turtles, that they actually covered the sea ; while the sun was darkened by a cloud of sea-crows. They likewise saw such swarms of butterflies, that the face of day was obscured from morning till night, when a deluge of rain swept them all away.

On the 13th of June, Columbus anchored in an island about thirty leagues in circumference, which he named Evangelista ; and having wood-ed and watered, directed his course southward ; but soon found himself embayed. Returning to the coast of Cuba, he stood to the eastward ; and on the 30th his ship ran aground, and stuck so fast, that it was with great difficulty and some damage she could be got off. While in this vicinity, they were visited by an old cacique, during the celebration of mass. To this service he seemed to pay great attention ; and, at its conclusion, signified his belief in the existence of a supreme Being, the rewarder of virtue, and the punisher of vice in a future state.

The admiral put again to sea on the 16th of July. The winds and rains considerably incommoded him at first ; but as he approached Cape Cruz, he was overtaken by such a sudden storm, that before the sails could be furled, the ships were well nigh overfet. Nor was this storm the only evil : they had also to contend with famine. Providentially, however, they reached Cape Cruz, where the Indians supplied them with cassada bread, abundance of fish, and store of fruits. Thus refreshed, they stood for Jamaica, and coasting it to the westward, found it furnished with excellent harbours, and replete with inhabitants.

On

On the 20th of August, Columbus made the south side of Hispaniola, near Cape Tiberoon, which he then called Cape St. Michael. Soon after, a cacique came on board, who accosted him by name, and pronounced some Spanish words. Towards the end of the month, having lost sight of the other two ships under his command, he anchored near the island of Alto Velo. Here the crew killed eight seals, and caught abundance of pigeons and other birds, which being unaccustomed to the cruelty of man, had not learned the necessity of flying from his approach.

At the end of six days, the missing ship joined. The admiral then coasted along Hispaniola, where they had a view of a spacious plain, so populous, that for a league it seemed to be one continued city; and near it lay a large lake. Here the natives came on board; and informed them, that the colony at Isabella was well. This pleasing information being received, he dispatched nine men across the island, to inform the planters of his arrival on the coast. Proceeding eastward, he sent his boats ashore for water, near a populous town, whence the inhabitants sallied with bows and poisoned arrows, to oppose a landing. They even produced some ropes, with which they menaced to bind the intruders; but seeing the Spaniards advance without dismay, they threw away their arms, and made a tender to the admiral of all they possessed.

Observing an uncommon fish of great magnitude sporting in the waves, and judging from other indications; that a storm was approaching, the admiral wished to find a place of security to anchor in; and had the good fortune to discover an island, near the east part of Hispaniola, called by

by the natives Adamanai. Here being sheltered, he observed an eclipse of the moon, which was followed by a tempest for some days successively. Having weathered the storm, and reached the eastern point of Hispaniola, he passed over to a little island, named Mona by the Indians; and in his passage from thence to St. John de Borriquen, he was seized with a pestilential and lethargic fever, which soon deprived him of his memory and reason. In this dilemma, his people resolved to proceed to Isabella, where they arrived in five days; and the admiral recovered his senses, on the fever leaving him; but was long in a feeble convalescent state.

At Isabella he had the felicity of finding his brother Bartholomew, who, on leaving the court of England, where, we have previously mentioned, he had been in treaty, received intelligence from Charles, king of France, of his brother's success; and, by this monarch, he was supplied with one hundred crowns to prosecute his journey to Spain. Unfortunately, the admiral had sailed on his second expedition before his arrival at Seville; but their Catholic majesties soon enabled him to pursue the same track with a fleet of three ships. Bartholomew was constituted, by the admiral, Governor of the Indies. This title occasioned some dispute, and exposed Columbus to the obloquy of his adversaries. The difference was, however, compromised; and he was allowed to bear the appellation of Lieutenant of the Indies. Thus, though the power was the same, the word that expressed it was changed. Man has always been the dupe of terms.

The society and assistance of Bartholomew was a real consolation to the admiral, who by the
mis

misconduct of Peter Margarite, found himself involved in quarrels with the natives. This insolent officer, instead of obeying the orders of Columbus, encamped with the party with which he had been entrusted to traverse the country, about ten leagues from Isabella, whence he dispatched menacing letters to the council. Finding it impossible to usurp the supreme direction as he wished, and dreading the return of the admiral, he embarked in the first ship bound for Spain, leaving his men without a leader. These following their own inclinations, dispersed about the country, robbed the natives, carried off the women; and committed such atrocities as alienated the affections of the Indians, and induced them to think of revenge.

Indeed, had the caciques and their dependent lords been firmly united, they might easily have emancipated themselves from the Spanish yoke. But jealousy will always prevent unanimity among rival powers, even where their interest is the same. Guacanagari continued firm in his professions, and had even incurred the resentment of his brother sovereigns, for the faithful part he had acted. A neighbouring cacique had killed one of his women; Caunabo, the lord of the mines, had stolen a second: to revenge the death of the one, and to recover the other, he earnestly implored assistance. The admiral, out of gratitude undertook to redress his wrongs. Besides he had an interest in fomenting dissensions between the Indian chiefs. Policy and morality have ever been at variance, and Columbus studied the latter!

On the 24th of March, 1495, the admiral, in company with Guacanagari, set out from Isabella, to prosecute the war against his Indian foes, who
had

had assembled an army of one hundred thousand men ; while the Europeans did not exceed two hundred, with twenty horses, and as many dogs.

Never were such disproportionate armies opposed to each other. On the second day, Columbus being in sight of the enemy, divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one to his brother Bartholomew, that, by a double attack, the attention of the Indians might be distracted, and their confusion increased. The first discharge of the Spanish cross bows and muskets threw them into some disorder ; but when the Europeans advanced with horses and dogs, the timid and undisciplined multitude fled in consternation and dismay. Numbers were slain and taken prisoners ; among the latter was Caunabo, with all his wives and children. This cacique confessed, that he had killed twenty of the Spaniards who were first left at Nativity, and that his intention was to attack Isabella. Such a confession confirmed by actual rebellion, if it deserves the name, was judged so criminal, that the admiral determined to send him and all his family to the tribunals of Spain.

This signal victory and the captivity of Caunabo so intimidated the Indians, that in the space of a few months, the admiral reduced the whole island ; and imposed a quarterly tribute on the natives. Peace became so well confirmed, that a single Spaniard could travel over the whole island without molestation, and even experience hospitality and regard. The colony, however, by change of climate and of food, was nearly reduced to one-third of the number originally landed at Isabella.

During

During this interval of repose, the Spaniards made themselves acquainted with the manners and customs of the natives, and the productions of islands they had not hitherto visited. With regard to religion, every cacique had a detached house set apart for the lodging and service of certain wooden images, denominated Cemís, before which they prayed, and used peculiar rites. Cuanabo being interrogated respecting his condition after death, replied, that in a future state he should be removed to a certain vale, where he should associate with his parents and predecessors, and enjoy every sensual pleasure, with the highest relish, unrestrained.

Hispaniola being now in a state of submission, and the colony established and protected, the admiral resolved to revisit Spain, to give an account of his proceedings, and to refute the charges of some malicious accusers. He therefore embarked on the 10th of March, 1496, on board two ships, with two hundred and twenty-five Spaniards and thirty Indians, and immediately steered for the eastward.

The wind proving unfavourable and provisions falling short, he was obliged to stand to the southward, and on the 9th of April anchored at Marigalante. Next day he sailed to Guadaloupe, and sending his boats ashore, the crews were opposed by a number of armed women, who rushed out of a wood. The mariners resting on their oars, ordered two of their Indian females to swim to land, and inform the islanders, that provisions were their only objects, for which they would make a liberal return.

These Amazons having understood the demand, pointed to the northward, where their husbands

husbands would supply them. Accordingly, on the ships coasting round, a number of people came down to the beach, and let fly a shower of arrows at the boats. It was at last found necessary to discharge a broadside from the ships against these determined islanders. On this they instantly fled, abandoned their houses, and left them to the mercy of the Spaniards. Their effects, being now considered as lawful plunder, were seized without remorse, and their houses destroyed. A sufficient quantity of bread was found to supply the wants of the ships; and in some of the dwellings, which were all square, they discovered honey, wax, and some implements of iron. A man's arm, roasting on a spit, appeared to have been the intended meal of one family.

The admiral now dispatched forty men to obtain intelligence of the country, who returned next day with ten women and three boys, among whom was the spouse of a cacique. This lady, notwithstanding her fleetness, was secured by a Canary man, whom she hoped and attempted to make her prey. These women were enormously corpulent and clumsy; they had long hair flowing down to the shoulders, and were swathed with cotton from the ankle to the knee. This was the only dress they wore. The captive princess said the island was inhabited by women only; and that among those who opposed the landing were only four men. At certain seasons of the year, it appeared, that the males visited them for a short space, and then retired. This was likewise the case in another island, possessed by the same sort of Amazons, who seemed to be endowed with a masculine understanding, and

strength not common among the males of this climate.

The ships being furnished with a supply of necessaries, set sail from Guadaloupe on the 20th of April, after the admiral had dismissed the captive females, except the princess and her daughter, who preferred accompanying Caunabo to Spain. This man it appeared was one of their countrymen, though he had risen to be a cacique of Hispaniola.

When the ships were about one hundred leagues west from the Azores, provisions began to run short, and the crews were obliged to be put to a short allowance. On the 8th of June, several days after all the reckonings of the pilots had been out, but exactly as the admiral calculated, they made the land of Odenicra, between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent. By this time the famine was so severe, that some proposed to eat the Indians, while others recommended their being thrown overboard to lessen the consumption. The admiral rejected both these proposals with disdain, and exerted his utmost address to protect the wretched captives. Next morning his humanity received its recompence in a sight of land, which so well accorded with his prediction, that his men began to think him inspired.

The admiral being landed, set out for Burgos, where their Catholic majesties were then celebrating the nuptials of their son Prince John with Margaret of Austria. He met with a favourable reception; laid before the king and queen specimens of the various productions he had accumulated in his voyage; and presented them with a considerable quantity of gold dust, pieces of that
metal,

metal, and articles of manufacture, enriched with its plates.

His next business was to vindicate his conduct from some aspersions, with which envy had tarnished his character. In this he apparently succeeded to his wishes; but when he requested to be sent back with supplies to the colony, which he justly represented as being in want of men and necessaries, so dilatory was the court, that many months elapsed before he could obtain the object of his wishes. At last an incompetent relief was sent off in two ships, under the command of Peter Fernandez Coronell. The admiral was once more reduced to the necessity of unheeded solicitation. The Spanish ministry thwarted his designs; their majesties perhaps were jealous of his superior character; and the bishop of Burgos, a man of considerable influence, exerted all the arts of low cunning to bring him into disgrace. This person was the inveterate enemy of Columbus; and in the sequel it will appear, was the chief author of his calamities.



DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

THIRD VOYAGE

OF

COLUMBUS.

THAT patient fortitude and perseverance, which were characteristic of Columbus, enabled him at last to carry his point. He forwarded and superintended his new expedition with all possible diligence; and at last, on the 30th of May 1498, set sail from the bay of St. Lucar de Barrameda with six ships filled with necessaries for the settlers; resolving to prosecute his discoveries with fresh alacrity.

On the 9th of June, he took in refreshments at Madeira; and on the 19th reached Gomera. Here a French ship having captured three Spanish vessels, put to sea with them, on the appearance of the squadron. The admiral being informed of this capture, ordered his ships to chase, but the French escaped by dint of sailing.

Columbus now proceeded to Ferro, from which he dispatched three of his ships to Hispaniola, under approved officers, while he with the rest should sail towards the Cape Verd Islands, and from thence direct his views to the discovery of the continent.

On the 25th of June, the admiral came to an anchor in Bona Vista, where he found a few houses for the accommodation of lepers, who are landed here for a cure. The Portuguese who had the charge of the island supplied Columbus with such articles as they could spare; and upon his enquiring how the leprosy was healed, was informed, that the patients trust chiefly to the temperature of the air, and the flesh of tortoises, with the blood of which they were externally anointed.

Turtles and goats were extremely numerous in this island, of the latter of which many are salted and sent to Portugal.

At St. Jago, the admiral wished to take on board some cows and bulls for his plantation in Hispaniola; but finding some difficulty and delay in obtaining this object, he sailed without accomplishing it; resolving to steer south-west till he should reach the line, and then to alter his course to west. He proceeded accordingly: but provisions and water falling short, he determined to change his direction and make for Hispaniola. He therefore stood to the northward, when one day, about noon, a sailor from the round-top saw land to the westward, about fifteen leagues distant, stretching towards the north-east as far as the eye could reach. The mariners sung the *Salve Regina*; and the admiral gave the new-discovered land the name of Trinity, from the circumstance of three mountains presenting themselves to his view at once.

Continuing his course due west, he discovered the continent at the distance of twenty-five leagues, on the 1st of August; but mistaking it for another island, gave it the appellation of *Isla Santa*.

Columbus

Columbus, for better security, proceeded to a more westerly point of land, denominated del Arenal. In his way he was followed by a canoe with twenty-five men, who stopped within musket shot, and shouted aloud. He endeavoured to allure them to the ship, by displaying some brass ornaments and looking glasses; but this expedient, proving, in this instance, ineffectual, he ordered one of his men to ascend the poop, and play on the tabor and pipe, while his companions danced round him. No sooner did the Indians hear the music, and observe the gesticulations of the Spaniards, than they took them for a signal of war, and prepared for a resolute defence. The savages however retired on a discharge of cross bows from the ship; but they went along aside of another caraval, without apprehension; and some civilities were interchanged between them and the captain. Their complexions were pretty fair; they had long hair tied with strings, and wore girdles of cotton cloth.

Having watered his ships at Arenal, from artificial trenches which he found on the shore, he proceeded north-west to another mouth or channel, which he called Boca del Drago, and which is formed by a point of Trinity Island meeting another from the continent. In the midst of the Boca del Drago he anchored; and here the currents were so strong, and the roaring of the waves so terrible, that the mariners were filled with consternation and fear. They however escaped without damage; and the admiral again weighing anchor, sailed along the south coast of Paria, as he called it, which he then conjectured was an island; and hoped to find a passage northward to Hispaniola; but in this he was at last undeceived.

The boats being sent on shore on the 5th of August, found plenty of fruits and wood; and observed traces of the natives who fled at their approach. A little farther down the coast, a canoe with three men came off, and met with the usual kind reception and presents from the admiral, after which they were sent ashore, where a number of the Indians were assembled. These being satisfied of the pacific disposition of the Spaniards, commenced a traffic with them. The males covered their heads and waists with cotton cloth; but the females were in a state of perfect nudity. They seemed more civilized and tractable than the Hispaniolans; but like them, showed the greatest predilection for brass toys and bells.

Nothing valuable appearing among the productions of this quarter, save a few inconsiderable plates of gold suspended from the necks of some of the natives, Columbus taking six of the Indians on board, and sailing westward, touched at two lofty and well-peopled islands, which seemed more rich than those he had left. The inhabitants wore strings of beads or pearls round their arms, and had heavier plates of gold. The admiral having purchased some of the pearls, which he was informed were found to the westward and northward of Paria, sent off some boats to enquire into the circumstances of this valuable fishery. The natives received the Spaniards with every mark of amity and hospitality, and expressed their desire to live with the Europeans in those sentiments.

Columbus, continuing to sail westward, found the water become more shallow; and having reconnoitered the coast by means of one of his smaller

smaller vessels, discovered that what appeared to be islands, was one continuous continent. He was therefore obliged to return to the eastward; and, with some difficulty, passed the straights lying between Paria and Trinity Island. He now sailed along the coast of Paria; and after passing some islands, entered the harbour of Domingo on the 30th of August, where his brother had built a city of that name.

Columbus, almost blind with incessant watchfulness, and quite exhausted with fatigue, now flattered himself with the hopes of reposing in the bosom of peace and tranquillity. Alas! his expectations were vain: the whole island was in a state of confusion; the greater number of the settlers were dead; a new and dreadful disease, which poisons the springs of life, had attacked about one hundred and sixty; a considerable party had rebelled under a person whom he had constituted chief justice; and, to complete his chagrin, the three ships dispatched from the Canaries were not arrived. After a tedious voyage, in which a great part of the provisions was spoiled, these vessels, however, at last arrived. The admiral's brother having informed him of the circumstances of the revolt, he was resolved to transmit an account of it to their Catholic majesties; and as the rebels complained of being detained on the island, a free passage was offered to such as were desirous of returning to Spain.

After many altercations, it was settled that the admiral should deliver up to Roldan, the ring-leader of the revolt, two good ships well provided, to transport him and his adherents to Spain: that he should issue an order for the payment of their salaries and wages to the day of their departure.

parture; and that within fifty days from the ratification of this convention, the malcontents should quit the island. Matters being thus compromised, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ships; but from the scarcity of stores and the turbulence of the weather, some time having elapsed before they could be brought round to Xaragua, the port from which the embarkation was to be made, Roldan changed his intentions; and taking advantage of the unavoidable delay that had intervened, he renounced the stipulations, and refused to depart. The officer, who conducted the ships to their destined port having in vain exhorted the rebels to acquiescence in their original engagements, entered a protest against their proceedings; and returned to the admiral, to whom he reported Roldan's objections. Columbus well knowing the disaffection of his own people, was eager to heal this new breach; and consenting to a conference with the rebel chief, it was stipulated; that the admiral should send home fifteen of Roldan's followers in the first ship bound for Spain; that those who remained on the island should have lands and houses in lieu of pay; that an act of amnesty should be published; and Roldan himself reinstated in his office of perpetual judge. Having at last adjusted this irksome affair, Columbus sent out a captain with a body of men, who were to traverse the island and reduce the rebellious Indians; while he himself proposed to return to Spain, and to take his brother the lieutenant with him.

In the meanwhile Alonzo de Ojeda arrived with four ships from a cruise, and putting into Yaquimo, not only committed unprovoked outrages on the Indians, but began to tamper with the

the Spaniards. To these he insinuated, that Queen Isabella was in a declining state of health, and that after her decease, Columbus would find no protection at court; but, on the contrary, would fall a victim to the enmity of Ojeda's kinsman, the intriguing bishop of Burgos.

These proceedings having reached the ears of the admiral, he dispatched Roldan with twenty-one men against him; who, coming upon him suddenly, rendered escape or resistance impracticable. On this, Ojeda altered his tone, excused his landing on a pretence of wanting provisions, and declared he had no intention to disturb the quiet of the island. He then recounted some discoveries and adventures on the coast of Paria; and concluded with a promise, that he would soon sail round to Domingo, and leave a personal interview with the admiral.

Notwithstanding these professions, he sailed to the province of Xaragua, where he seduced a number of persons that had lately been in rebellion; and arrogated to himself and Caravajal a superintending power over the admiral, by the appointment of their Catholic majesties. He even instigated some to attempt force to carry their wishes; but being opposed by the sound part of the Spaniards, a tumult ensued, in which some lives were lost; and Roldan being again sent to attack him, forced the intruder to take refuge on board his ships. By a stratagem, the justice got possession of his boat. This obliged him to consent to a treaty, and to leave the coast.

Soon after his departure, another commotion was raised by one of the former partizans of Roldan, who wished to marry the daughter of Can-

nua, queen of Xaragua ; but being opposed in this design, he concerted measures for taking off the chief justice. Roldan having obtained intelligence of his intentions, concerted his plan so well, that he seized the chief conspirators ; and being directed by the admiral to punish them according to law, one of the ringleaders was hanged, others banished, and some left to the disposal of Columbus.

This example of severe punishment, which was become absolutely necessary for the maintenance of subordination, had such a salutary effect, that tranquillity was restored throughout the whole island, both among the settlers and natives. About this time, gold mines of the most superior richness were discovered ; and every person began to labour in them on his own account, paying, however, one-third of his produce to the king. So prosperous was this trade, that one man has been known to collect forty ounces in a day ; and one lump of pure gold was discovered, weighing no less than one hundred and ninety six ducats.

While the zeal and activity of Columbus were displaying themselves, in appeasing the troubles and promoting the prosperity of Hispaniola, for the honour and interest of their Catholic majesties, he had little reason to apprehend, that a storm was collecting against him at home, and just ready to burst on his head. During the late commotions, a number of complaints had been preferred against him by those whose criminal views he thwarted. He had been represented in the worst colours, that ingenious malice could devise ; and the friends of the complainers being reinforced by his private enemies about court, such

such a clamour was raised in Castile, that the people crowded round their majesties, demanding justice against the proud and imperious foreigner, who had oppressed and drawn from their native country, to death and ruin, so many of the Spanish gentry. That mob, which a few years before, almost idolized him for his discoveries, now inveighed against him on this very account, as being destructive to their countrymen; and the court who wished, no doubt, to reap the benefit of his labours without the tax that gratitude and original conditions imposed, at last yielded to the importunity. Their Catholic majesties gave a commission to one Francis de Bovadilla, a person in low circumstances, to proceed for Hispaniola, under the title of inspector general. By virtue of his authority, he was to take cognizance of the admiral's conduct; and if he found him guilty, he was to send him to Spain, and supply his place. This licence blinded his justice and stimulated his ambition; for no sooner was the inspector arrived at St. Domingo, than he took possession of the admiral's palace. He then assembled all those whom he found disaffected to Columbus or his brother; declared himself governor; and, to attach the people to his interest, proclaimed a general remission for twenty years to come. His next step, was to require the admiral's presence; and to enforce this, he dispatched the king's letter, which ran in the following tenor. It is worthy of being preserved, as it shews how little reliance is to be put in the gratitude of princes, or in the stability of favour.

To D. Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean.

WE have ordered the commendary, Francis de Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with some things from us. Therefore we desire you to yield him entire credit and obedience. Given at Madrid.

May 21, 1499.

By command of their high-

nesses,

Mic. Perez. de Almazan.

} Signed { I, THE KING.
I, THE QUEEN.

Columbus did not hesitate to obey this summons. He set out immediately for St. Domingo, to wait on Bovadilla, who clapt him and his brother Diego in irons on ship-board; and placing a strong guard over him, denied him all access of his friends.

A process was then instituted against the admiral and his brother: their enemies were admitted as evidences; and no depositions were so absurd, incoherent, or malicious as to be rejected on that account. It was determined to convict him, that Bovadilla might retain his station.

Bartholomew, the lieutenant, was not yet returned from Xaragua, and it is probable he might have rescued his brother by force of arms, had not the admiral requested him quietly to submit to the authority of the new governor. The consciousness of innocence would not suffer this great man to attempt a defence by force. No sooner had Bovadilla secured the persons of the brothers, than he gave positive orders to the captain of the ship, on landing, to deliver them to Fonesca, the implacable enemy of Columbus. The new governor then began to squander the
king's

king's treasures among his creatures; to countenance profligacy and oppression; and to overturn all the salutary regulations of his eminent predecessor.

Andrew Martin, the captain of the vessel which carried Columbus, ashamed of seeing such a man in irons, wished to knock them off. The admiral insisted on wearing them, during the whole of his passage, observing, that he was resolved to keep them as a memorial of the reward of his services. This resolution he never changed: the fetters were always preserved as the most precious relics, and, at his own request, buried in the same coffin with him.

On the 20th of November, 1500, having arrived at Cadiz, he wrote a letter to their majesties, giving an account of his treatment. He received a very gracious answer, in which concern for his sufferings was joined with censure of Bovadilla's conduct. He was invited to court, with a promise, that he should shortly be reinstated in all his honours.

On his arrival at Grenada, the king and queen confirmed by words their obliging intimations in their reply; and assured him he should have ample satisfaction. In the mean time, having ordered an investigation to take place, and the accusations appearing malicious and frivolous, he was most honourably acquitted. A new governor was nominated for Hispaniola to redress the admiral's grievances, and to oblige Bovadilla to make restitution. This power was delegated to Nicolas de Obando, a man of abilities, but insidious and revengeful. At the same time, it was resolved, that Columbus should be sent on some

voyage of profit and honour, till Obanda should settle the affairs of Hispaniola. But the admiral, chagrined at the ingratitude he had experienced, and apprehensive of future disgrace from the machinations of his enemies, declined the enterprize, till he was strongly solicited by their majesties, and assured of their zealous protection.

DISCO-

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

FOURTH AND LAST VOYAGE

OF

COLUMBUS.

A SQUADRON of four ships, with one hundred and forty men on board, being equipped, under the superintendence of Columbus, he set sail from Cadiz on the 9th of May, 1501, for Arzilla, in order to relieve the Portuguese, who were reported to be in great distress; but before he arrived, the Moors had raised the siege. He therefore proceeded immediately for the Grand Canary, where he arrived on the 20th, and took in wood and water for his voyage.

On the evening of the 25th he weighed and stood for the West Indies, with such a propitious gale, that he reached Martinico on the 15th of June; and soon after, standing to the westward, among the Caribbee islands, he steered for Domingo, with a view of changing one of his ships which proved a bad failer; and hoping afterwards to continue his voyage to the coast of Paria, in quest of the straight which he supposed lay near Vuagua and Nombre de Dios.

But that the new governor, sent out to regulate the affairs of the colony, and to recal Bova-

dilla, might not appear to be taken by surprise, he dispatched before him one of his captains to signify the reason of his pursuing this course. So little inclined was the governor to assist the admiral with another ship, he would not even allow him to enter the port; and disregarding the prediction of Columbus, who foresaw an approaching storm, permitted a fleet of eighteen sail to put to sea for Spain, having on board Bovadilla and the rest of the admiral's opponents.

This squadron, however, had hardly weathered the eastern extremity of Hispaniola, before they were overtaken by a terrible tempest, in which the commodore, with Bovadilla and almost all the principal rebels foundered, and not more than three or four ships of the whole were saved; while Columbus, aware of the impending danger, sheltered himself under the land in the best position he could. But the wind soon rose to a perfect hurricane, and his three consorts were forced out to sea. The Bermuda, commanded by Bartholomew Columbus, was saved by the admirable skill and dexterity of this accomplished seaman; being a bad sailer, her danger had been most imminent. In a few days, the ships all joined the admiral in the port of Azua. Though a revengeful temper and a superstitious mind might have found consolation in the idea, that this dreadful tempest had been the destruction of his enemies, Columbus felt more chagrin than satisfaction when he reflected, that he was denied shelter in that very country he had discovered, and annexed to the crown of Spain, in whose service he still laboured. His enemies, less liberal, less enlightened, ascribed this storm to magic; and to give weight to this belief, the only ship

ship out of eighteen that arrived in Spain was the *Aguja*, on board of which were four thousand pesos of gold, the property of the admiral.

Unwilling to enter into disputes with the governor, Columbus refreshed his men in the best manner he could in the port of Azua, and thence sailed to a harbour of Brasil, called Gracchimo by the Indians. Leaving this, he was so becalmed, that instead of continuing his course, he was carried by the currents near Jamaica. However, after some delay, standing southward for the continent, he reached the islands of Guanara, near the country now called Honduras, where Bartholomew landed, and found a numerous population, and some pieces of lapis calaminaris, which the seamen mistook for gold. While he remained here, he descried a large canoe, with an awning made of palm tree leaves, under which the women and children were sheltered from the weather; and though the vessel was manned by twenty-five stout Indians, they suffered themselves to be captured without the least resistance.

This vessel being replete with goods and domestic utensils, gave him a favourable opportunity of becoming acquainted with the commodities of the country. On examining the cargo, it was found to consist of quilts and cotton shirts, of various colours, together with long sheets, in which the women wrapped themselves, long wooden swords, sharpened on each side with flints, hatchets and copper bells. The provisions consisted of such roots and grain as were usual in Hispaniola, and a kind of fermented liquor made from maize. They had likewise abundance of cocoa-nuts, which being the representative of coin here, were proportionably
valu

valued. These people seemed to have a due sense of modesty and decency; which decorum of manners made such a favourable impression on the admiral, that he ordered them to be treated with peculiar respect, restored their canoe; exchanged for European articles such commodities as he wished to retain, and dismissed them well pleased. One old man, however, who cheerfully undertook the office of interpreter, and seemed to be a person of wisdom and character among his countrymen, was kept during the course of the voyage; and having acquitted himself with fidelity in the department he undertook, was at last discharged with many valuable presents.

Though the admiral soon learned from this intelligent guide, that a people of great wealth, politeness, and ingenuity, inhabited a country to the westward; yet, conceiving he could at any time sail thither from Cuba, for the present, he resolved to explore the imagined straight in the continent, through which he might penetrate into the South Sea, and thus reach the spice country. A misconception of the Indian's meaning had given rise to the supposition, that such a straight existed: they intended to describe an isthmus, which Columbus mistook for a narrow gulph, extending from sea to sea.

In quest of this straight, he sailed towards a point on the continent, which he named *Cafinus*, from the quantity of trees growing there, bearing a fruit so called by the *Hispaniolans*. In the vicinity of this cape, he saw people with painted shirts, like coats of mail, sufficiently strong to defend them against the weapons of the country, or even the stroke of a sword. Farther to the eastward, near *Cape Gracias a Dios*, the natives were
of

of a savage aspect, and cannibals. Sailing still to windward, on Sunday, August 14, 1502, Bartholomew Columbus with a large party went ashore to hear mass, and on the following Wednesday, took possession of the country for their Catholic majesties. Immediately, above one hundred Indians laden with provisions ran down to the shore; but perceiving the boats, suddenly retired in silence. The lieutenant ascribing this to timidity, employed the interpreter to ingratiate himself with them by means of trinkets and bells, which were so acceptable, that next day they returned in greater numbers, bringing with them hens, geese, fish, and other kinds of provisions. The country, though low, was beautifully verdant; producing pines, oaks, palms, and mirabolans. Among the quadrupeds were deer, and a species of leopard. The features of the inhabitants resembled those of the islands already described: they covered their loins; and every nation spoke a language of its own. Their bodies and arms were ornamented with different figures indented by fire. They seemed to have no religion; but on festivals they painted their faces of various colours, so as to make a most terrific appearance.

The wind and currents being contrary, the admiral spent seventy days in sailing sixty leagues to the eastward. On the 14th of September, he reached Gracias a Dios, so called, because the land trending off to the south, gave him an opportunity of prosecuting his voyage with the trade-wind.

On the 16th, the boats being sent ashore to water, one of them, with all the men, was unfortunately lost by a violent surf or rippling, occasion

sioned by the conflict of the current and the wind. To this river he gave the appellation of *De la Disgracia*, or *Disaster*. Running farther to the southward, he anchored near the town of *Cariari*, in the vicinity of an island named *Quiriviri*, which in population, soil, and situation, was distinguished above every place he had yet visited. The town was watered by a large river, on the banks of which a multitude of people appeared, some armed with bows and arrows, others with palm-tree lances pointed with fish bones, and a third description with clubs. They seemed to have been collected to defend their country from invasion; but being satisfied of the pacific disposition of the Spaniards, they eagerly wished to barter their commodities, consisting of arms, cotton, sheets, and guaninis, which are ornaments of gold for the neck, for articles of European manufacture; but the admiral, to give the savages the highest idea of their visitors, as if they were superior to all mercenary views, presented them with trinkets, for which he would not suffer any thing to be taken in exchange. This served only to whetten their desire for traffic; they invited the Spaniards to land; but finding they could not succeed, they retired, leaving every article they had received in a small heap on the shore. The Indians, conceiving that the strangers distrusted their sincerity, sent down an ancient man of a majestic presence, with a flag on a staff, attended by two young women, having guaninis about their necks. These females, at the earnest request of their guide, were sent on board the admiral; and being handsomely entertained, were dismissed to rejoin the veteran, and about fifty of his countrymen on the beach.

Next

Next day the lieutenant going ashore, two of the Indian chiefs taking him by the arms, with a gentle violence, made him sit down on the grass between them. Thus situated, he began to interrogate them, and ordered the secretary to write down their answers. But having themselves performed some magic ceremonies before they approached the Spaniards, they conceived that pen, ink, and paper were the instruments of sorcery among the strangers, and fled in great consternation, when they were produced. Bartholomew found means to quiet their apprehensions, and afterwards visited their town, where he saw several tombs in a large wooden structure covered with canes. They appeared to possess the art of embalming the dead. Over each of the sepulchres was a board, carved with the figures of beasts, or the effigies of the deceased, with the native ornaments.

The appearance of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants excited the admiral's desire to become better acquainted with both. He therefore ordered seven of the Indians to be secured, and selecting two of the most intelligent looking persons among them, dismissed the rest with presents, assuring them, that their companions were detained for no other reason but to act as guides and interpreters, and that in a short space they should be set at liberty. This detention, however was ascribed to avarice; and next day, four ambassadors arrived with a present of two wild hogs to ransom their countrymen. The deputies were treated with the greatest civility, well repaid for their hogs, and sent away satisfied, that no harm would befall their comrades on board.

One of the sailors having caught a wild cat of extraordinary size, compared with the same ani-

mal in Europe, the crew entertained themselves with letting it loose on one of the hogs, which had been brought for a present. Though naturally very ferocious, no sooner did it see the cat, than it ran about the deck in a fright. The admiral perceiving this, ordered a hog to be brought near the cat in confinement, which immediately winding its tail about the hog's snout, and with its fore leg fastening on the poll, would soon have dispatched it, had not the attendants interposed. From these circumstances it was clear, that those cats hunt like the European wolves.

On the 5th of October, the admiral entered the spacious bay of Caravaro, in which are many islets. On one of these small islands they discovered twenty canoes, and their crews hard by them on the shore, without the least article of dress or ornament, save little plates of gold round their necks. These betrayed no symptoms of fear, but readily exchanged a gold plate weighing ten ducats for three horse-bells; and gave the Spaniards the agreeable intimation, that gold was abundant in that neighbourhood.

Next day, a boat's crew met with ten canoes full of people, who declining to part with their gold plates, the admiral ordered two of them to be taken, for the sake of obtaining information by means of the Cariari interpreters. These confirmed the report of gold being found at the distance of two days journey up the country.

Sailing from thence, the admiral, some days after, entered the river Guaiga, where his boats were violently assaulted by a party of one hundred Indians; who resolutely ran into the water up to the middle, brandishing lances, blowing horns, and showing every mark of aversion and defiance.

defiance. The peaceable demeanour of the Spaniards soon appeased these hostile menaces ; and for a few horse bells, the natives exchanged gold plates to the value of one hundred and fifty ducats. Next day, however, they lay in ambuscade, and perceiving, that no one would venture to land without security, they rushed into the water, and repeated the same insults as on the preceding day. The Spaniards being exasperated at their insolence, wounded one of them with an arrow ; and, at the same time, a cannon being fired, they fled in the greatest consternation. Then four men landing, invited them by signs to return ; on which they laid down their arms, and entered into peaceable traffic.

Columbus having procured specimens of the produce of this part of the country, proceeded to Catiba ; and casting anchor in the mouth of a large river, saw the natives preparing for defence. However, they sent two deputies along side in a canoe ; and these having discoursed with the interpreters, came on board the admiral, and presented him with their plates, for which he made them a satisfactory return. Amity being thus established, the Spaniards went ashore, and found the king surrounded by a number of his subjects, from whom he was in no respect distinguished, but by a single leaf of a tree, which in some degree protected him from the rain. The sovereign having first exchanged his gold plate, his people speedily followed his example. At this place was seen a considerable mass of wall, apparently constructed of stone and lime ; the first trace that had been discovered of architectural skill in the new world. Sailing to the eastward, the admiral passed Cobravo, and several towns of great

trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians said the gold was collected, and the plates made. On the 2d of November, he entered a harbour, to which he gave the appellation of Porto Bello, from its beautiful situation. The weather proving unfavourable for proceeding, he continued here for seven days, during which space, a constant communication and commerce was kept up with the natives.

Leaving Porto Bello, the admiral directed his course to the eastward; but next day was forced back; and running in among the islands near the continent, where the town of Nombre de Dios now stands, called the Place Puerta de Bastimentos, from the quantity of provisions. A boat, well manned, being sent in pursuit of a canoe, the Indians on board it were so terrified, that they leaped into the sea, and in spite of all the efforts of the Spaniards, escaped by dint of diving and swimming. Here Columbus remained for a fortnight, when he sailed for Guiga, where a body of three hundred Indians appeared ready to open a trade with the Spaniards. Without making any delay here, he put into a small confined port, which he named Retrete, capable of containing no more than six ships, with an entrance not more than twenty paces wide. In this place he lay nine days, at first trading very familiarly with the Indians, till the insolence of one of the sailors provoked them to open hostility. Their courage increasing daily with their numbers, and the admiral having in vain endeavoured to allay the commotion, found it absolutely necessary to alter his deportment, to prevent their aggression. He therefore ordered his men to fire some pieces of cannon, which they answered with noise and vociferation,

vociferation, as if they despised the explosion, which they believed to be the effect of thunder. On this one of the great guns was loaded with shot, and the ball falling in the midst of a party assembled on a hillock, convinced them that they had something more than noise to apprehend. Ever after they kept out of sight. These people were tall and well-shaped. In the harbour, alligators were numerous. These animals slept ashore, and emitted a musky scent. They appeared ravenous when they could take an advantage; but cowardly when attacked.

The admiral perceiving that the winds continued to blow with violence from the eastern quarter, and that he was precluded from trading with the inhabitants of this coast, resolved to satisfy himself in regard to the authenticity of the report, concerning the mines of Veragua, and accordingly sailed back to Porto Bello.

Next day, the wind shifted; and for some time the weather was so boisterous, that a man could scarcely stand on deck. The clouds seemed to be melting into a deluge; the whole air appeared like a sheet of lightning; and the thunder rolled incessantly over their heads. The mariners, worn out with fatigue, and terrified with this unusual commotion of the elements, were driven to despair. Amidst this danger and distraction, they were in the utmost peril of being overwhelmed by a dreadful water-spout, which rising from the sea, about the thickness of a butt, seemed to reach the clouds, and burst with a tremendous roar. To darken their prospect, they lost sight of one of the ships; and it was not till the end of three days, that they found she was safe.

At this crisis, when almost hope was lost, a calm ensued, of two days continuance, during which they were surrounded by sharks so voracious, that they were caught with any bait. In the belly of one, an entire turtle was found alive. Though these fishes were regarded as ominous, and their flesh but indifferent food, the sailors beginning to be pressed with famine, ate them with great eagerness. Indeed all their sea stores were consumed, except their biscuit; and this was so full of maggots, from the heat and moisture of the climate, that they generally ate it in the dark, to conceal the disgust of the vermin with which it was filled.

On the 17th of December, Columbus reposed his crews for three days in a harbour east of Pen-non, called Huiva by the natives. Here they observed, that the natives lived in huts erected in the tops of trees, to secure them from wild beasts, and land floods, or enemies of their own species; for war frequently raged along the coast. On quitting this harbour, a new storm arose, and they were obliged to take shelter in another port. The 3d of next month, the weather became more moderate; but as if Providence had resolved to thwart the expedition, no sooner were they again under sail, than the wind freshened and became contrary; and they were buffeted about by the waves, till they were driven back to one of their former ports.

After some repairs, and laying in a fresh stock of such provisions as the country supplied, Columbus once more set out; but he was so perplexed with currents, and fatigued with tempests and contrary winds, that he gave this coast the appropriate name of de Contrastes, or the Coast of Contention.

At

At last he reached the river of Veragua, whose waters were very shallow; but the boats proceeded up to the town, near which the gold mines were said to lie. At first the Indians stood on their guard, and menaced opposition; but our Indian interpreter giving a favourable representation of the views and conduct of strangers, they were appeased; and bartered away twenty plates of gold, and some grains of the same metal in their native state, which they said had been collected in desolate mountains, at a very great distance.

Two of the ships, with the admiral on board, went up a river in the vicinity, to which he had given the appellation of Bethlem; and here they found the Indians ready to exchange their commodities, particularly fish, which at certain seasons of the year swim up the rivers in incredible shoals. The other ships having joined, Bartholomew, the lieutenant, went up the river with the boats to the city of Quibio; the king, who hearing of his design, in token of friendship, met him in his canoe. Next day he visited the admiral, and after an hour's conversation, and an interchange of presents, he departed extremely gratified.

Soon after, the river swelled by the floods so suddenly and so high, that the admiral's ship parted her cable, and ran foul of another vessel, by which accident both were in imminent danger of being lost. This prodigious rise was supposed to be occasioned by some cloud having burst on the lofty mountains of Veragua.

On the 6th of February, 1503, the lieutenant and sixty-eight men ascended the river to the cacique's town, on purpose to enquire the nearest

road to the mines. In consequence of the intelligence received, they travelled several leagues, and arriving at the place where they were directed, gathered some gold about the roots of large and lofty trees. As the sole aim of the journey was to obtain information respecting the mines, the party returned well pleased with their adventure; though it afterwards appeared, that the mines of Veragua lay much nearer, and that they had been purposely sent to the mines of Urira, a nation at war with Quibio.

A few days having elapsed, the lieutenant with fifty men set out again for the river Urira, seven leagues westward of Bethlem; and next day had an interview with the cacique, when some plates of gold were exchanged. The Spaniards were then conducted to the town, where they were hospitably entertained and lodged. Soon after their arrival at this place, the neighbouring cacique of Dururi waited on them: he had a numerous retinue, and several plates of gold were bartered by his people. The news of gold being found most grateful to the ears of the Spaniards, this cacique pleased the lieutenant, by informing him, that in the interior parts, there were caciques who possessed abundance of gold, and maintained armed men like the Spaniards.

Bartholomew sending back a part of his men to the ships, proceeded with the remainder to Zobarba, where he saw above six leagues of ground full of maize, in good cultivation. Here the natives were kindly attentive; and furnished him with some plates of gold; but having advanced a great way from the ships, and found no place more convenient for a colony, which it was intended to settle, than Bethlem, he returned with
a good

a good quantity of gold, and a resolution was now taken to leave a colony here of eighty men under his command. The necessary dispositions being made, they began to erect timber houses, covered with palm leaves, in the vicinity of Beth-leem river; and several pieces of cannon, ammunition and provisions were lodged in the magazine apart; while other stores were placed on board one of the ships, the Gallega, for the use of the colony. As fish abounded on the coast, they had an ample supply of nets and other fishing tackle. The Indian mode of catching fish here was with hooks made of tortoise shell. Pilchards were their usual prey. In the middle of their canoes, from stem to stern, they had a partition of palm leaves two yards high; and plying about the river, made a noise with their oars so as to alarm the fish, which mistaking the leaves for land, frequently darted against them, and fell into the canoe. Their principal beverage was a kind of beer made of maize. They also made a pleasant wine of palms.

Every thing having been provided for the comfort and security of the new colony, the admiral was determined to return to Spain; when his voyage was effectually retarded by the lowness of the water in the river, which would not float his ships, as well as by a terrible surf, which threatened destruction to any vessel on the shore. This circumstance was the more unfortunate, as the rains were past, which alone could swell the river; and the ships' bottoms were perfectly worm-eaten. To complete the calamity, it was casually discovered, that Quibio intended to destroy the settlement, as having been formed contrary to his inclination, and that of his people.

In this dangerous dilemma, the admiral concerted measures with his brother. It was therefore proposed to take the cacique and his principal men prisoners, and to carry them hostages to Spain. Accordingly the lieutenant and seventy men proceeded to the village of Veragua, where he received a message from the cacique, desiring he would come up to his house, which stood apart on a hill. He had now occasion for all his address. He resolved to accept the invitation with five men only; having ordered the rest to follow two and two at some distance, and, on hearing the report of a musket, immediately to surround the house. Quibio meeting the lieutenant at the door, was immediately seized; and the signal being given, the Spaniards encircled the house. The prince being taken, about thirty attendants made no opposition. But as they were conveying the cacique on board, he found means to leap into the river; and darkness setting in, it was impossible to recover him, or to know the event. After a fruitless search, the party returned overwhelmed with shame and vexation.

Finding it impracticable to recover the fugitive Indian, the lieutenant and his men came on board the admiral, and presented the plunder of Quibio's house, which was pretty considerable. A fifth part was deducted for their Catholic majesties; and the rest distributed among the party engaged in the expedition.

The river being again swelled by the rains, Columbus found means, though with much difficulty, to get over the bar into the sea. He then waited for a fair wind to carry him to Hispaniola, from whence he purposed sending supplies to his new settlement. During this interval, the boat providen-

providentially went ashore, and was the probable salvation of a number of Spaniards. For Quibio no sooner saw the ships at sea, than he resolved to attack the settlement; and the surrounding woods facilitated the enterprize. But the lieutenant, with undaunted resolution, sallied out on the enemy, and compelled the savages to retire, just as the boat reached the shore. In this encounter, a Spaniard was killed and seven wounded, among whom was the lieutenant himself. The enemy, however, again and again returned to the charge; and the spirit of the Europeans was thus broken, as well as their number reduced.

Meanwhile the admiral waited impatiently for favourable weather to send the only boat ashore which remained, for intelligence previous to his leaving the coast; and in this interval, some of the prisoners escaped in the night, and the rest hanged themselves in despair; so that no hostages for Quibio's peaceful demeanour were left. From the inclemency of the elements, no boat could live; and the anxiety of Columbus increasing, he engaged one of his pilots to swim ashore for intelligence. This hazardous enterprize he happily accomplished, and returned with a melancholy detail of attacks without, and animosities within. Bartholomew found it impracticable to maintain his authority; and the settlers were unanimous in nothing but in quitting the place. The admiral seeing no other alternative than to expose the settlers, among whom was his own brother, to certain destruction, or to take them on board, did not hesitate what line of conduct to pursue. He received and accommodated the colonists in the best manner that the circumstances

of his ships would permit. All the goods and stores were carried off; and nothing of value left, except the hulk of the ship intended for the use of the settlement, which was found too rotten to be of farther service.

The admiral having yielded to imperious circumstances, which frustrated his reasonable expectations of deriving credit and advantage from erecting a settlement on the continent, sailed along the coast to the eastward, contrary to the judgment of all his pilots, who thought it possible to reach Domingo by bearing to the north. The superior nautical skill of Columbus and his brother taught them otherwise. They were nevertheless exposed to the obloquy of ignorance; and murmurs and apprehensions were spread, that he had it in contemplation to sail directly for Spain, without having taken in provisions adequate to the voyage.

Having reached Porto Bello, he was obliged to leave another of his ships, which was totally decayed. He then passed Porto Retrete, together with a number of minute islands; and having weathered the point of Marmora on the continent, on the 1st of May, he stood to the north, with both wind and currents setting from the east.

The principal navigators affirmed, that he was already to the eastward of the Caribbees; but he himself was fearful he should not yet be able to fetch Hispaniola, and his judgment was verified. After a run of several days, he found himself among the islands called the Queen's Garden, ten leagues to the southward of Cuba. By this time the ships were so leaky that they could scarcely be managed by the pumps: the strength
of

of the crews was exhausted; and they were at a short allowance of very indifferent fare, had it been unlimited. In this melancholy situation, they were overtaken by a storm. The two ships ran foul of each other, and had nearly foundered; however Providence again favoured the admiral; with difficulty they got clear, and dropped their anchors. What increased their thankfulness was, to find in the morning, that only one strand of the cable was left uncut: had this given way, they must have been dashed on pointed rocks.

The weather having become moderate, Columbus sailed to an Indian town in Cuba, named Mattaia, where he laid in some refreshments. But finding it impossible to bear up for Hispaniola, he stood over to Jamaica, with the ships almost full of water, in spite of all their exertions. At last he reached the harbour of Santa Gloria, well guarded by rocks; and finding it impossible to keep the ships longer afloat, he run them aground, side by side, and ordered sheds to be made on their decks for the protection of his men. By this expedient he had the crews more under control than if they had been on land, and better guarded from any attack of the natives. With that wisdom which always marked his conduct, he appointed two persons to superintend the market, that equal justice might be done on both sides; and the Indians, sure of honourable treatment, might be ready to supply him with provisions, or to engage in traffic. These regulations were alike grateful to his own men, who were well supplied, and to the Indians, who frequently exchanged their animals and provisions for a bit of tin, a few glass beads, or a hawk's bell. A chief

was sometimes complimented with a red cap, a small looking-glass, or a pair of scissors.

But though they were now freed from the pressure of want and immediate danger, this was not the scene of their rest. The admiral next consulted how to transport the party to Hispaniola, and after mature deliberation, it was resolved, that two canoes should be dispatched thither with an account of their misfortunes, and a pressing solicitation to the governor, to send a ship for their relief. James Mendez de Segura, the admiral's secretary, embarked in one canoe with sixteen men, Spaniards and Indians; and the command of the other was given to Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese gentleman, who had the same number of hands. This last had orders to return immediately with the news of their safe arrival; while Mendez should continue his route over land to St. Domingo.

The men left, soon began to grow sickly from the fatigue they had undergone, and a change of diet; and illness always fosters a spirit of discontent. They now caballed against the admiral, as if he had no wish to return to Spain; they anticipated the refusal of the governor of Hispaniola to grant any assistance from his previous conduct; they even suggested that the canoes were lost, or some tidings would have been received from the secretary. Hence they concluded, that it was their best plan to leave the admiral, who was very ill of the gout, and to follow their companions to Hispaniola, where their desertion would be a passport to the governor's favour. Two brothers of the name of Porras were the suggesters and supporters of these sentiments;

and as the bishop of Burgos, the sworn foe of Columbus, kept one of their sisters in quality of concubine, they did not doubt but they should meet with protection in Spain. These insinuations had their full effect; and about forty-eight of the men having fallen into their line, preparations were diligently made for the execution of their designs.

Matters being ripe for a discovery, on the 2d of January, 1504, Captain Francis de Porras, who had been elected leader, ascending the quarter-deck, where the admiral lay confined in bed, insolently demanded the reason why he did not return to Spain, but kept his men to perish in such a situation. Columbus, suspecting a conspiracy, calmly replied, that it was impossible to return to Spain without a vessel; that both interest and duty prompted him to be gone; and that for the gratification of his people, he would summon all his officers to consult on the means of forwarding their wishes. This mild remonstrance had no effect on Porras. He said it was now too late to waste words; that if the admiral did not immediately embark, he might stay alone. Then raising his voice, he exclaimed, "I am going to Spain with those who are inclined to follow me." By this his adherents joined in the exclamation, and immediately took possession of different parts of the ship, so that uproar and confusion were universal. The noise of this tumult roused the admiral from his bed of sickness: he started up, and was only withheld from rushing into the midst of the conspirators, by the affectionate restraints of his servants, who dreaded he might be murdered. The lieutenant, after bravely rushing out on the mutineers, was dis-

armed and confined, having cautioned Porras in vain to reflect on his conduct, which would meet with exemplary punishment. The ring-leader disregarded this advice, and seizing ten canoes which had been purchased of the Indians by Columbus, embarked with all his adherents, who expressed the same exultation as if they had already been landed in Spain. On this occasion, some who had not joined in the conspiracy, despairing now of relief, desired to be taken on board, to the infinite sorrow of the admiral and his few remaining followers. Had the whole been in health, it is probable that none but his brother and his domestics would have remained in their duty.

The mutineers coasting along the east side of Jamaica, committed all manner of outrages on the natives, and desired them to apply for redress and indemnity to the admiral, who was the author of all their calamities; and to put him to death, should he deny them satisfaction.

Having carried their malice as far as diabolical invention would go, they began their voyage for Hispaniola, with some Indians, whom they compelled to act as rowers. They had not, however, made four leagues from land, when the wind, which was contrary, began to freshen, and the sea to rise and to fill the canoes. Being unacquainted with the mode of navigating such vessels, they thought to lighten them by murdering the Indians, and throwing their bodies into the ocean. This inhuman design they executed on some; others being thrown overboard alive, swam till they were exhausted, then hanging by the canoes for breath, the detestable monsters cut off their hands; and in this manner eighteen perished.

riched. Probably not one would have escaped, had not a few been saved out of a cruel charity to carry them back to Jamaica; as they found it impracticable to proceed. Having relanded on this island, a council was held; when some proposed that they should take advantage of the winds and currents to run over to Cuba, whence the passage to Hispaniola was short: others advised attempting to make their peace with the admiral, but a majority of voices agreed, that after it became calm, they should pursue their former voyage. Having waited a month for a favourable opportunity of leaving the island, and having made two unsuccessful efforts, they at last marched by land to the westward, plundering the natives as they advanced.

The first care of the admiral, was to efface the bad impressions which the mutineers had made on the Indians, and in this he fortunately succeeded; for they supplied him with provisions as before. His next object was to recover his people by the supplies he could procure for their relief. But the Indians attending no farther to agriculture than was absolutely necessary for their own subsistence, began to feel a scarcity; and the admiral being in a situation that no longer challenged obedience and respect, they became indifferent about his wants. The sagacity of Columbus, ever prompt at expedients, supplied him with a most extraordinary resource for retrieving his character and credit with the savages. Knowing by calculations, that in three days there would be an eclipse of the moon, he sent an Indian of Hispaniola to assemble the chiefs of the district, on an affair of importance to them all. Having obeyed the summons, he told them by

his interpreter, that he and his people were Christians, and believed in God who created the heaven and the earth, protected the righteous, and punished the wicked, and therefore would not suffer the rebellious Spaniards to pass over to Hispaniola, though he had by his Providence conducted the messengers sent by him, because their design was laudable; that the same Almighty, and All-just Being was incensed against the Indians, for becoming negligent in supplying his people with provisions, and was determined to punish them with plague and famine. As a token of which, they would that very night see the moon rise with an angry and bloody aspect, to denote the misfortunes that were about to ensue.

As fear or belief operated on the mind, this prophecy had different effects. But when they perceived the moon in reality eclipsed, and darkness increasing as she rose, universal consternation prevailed. They came running from all quarters, laden with provisions; and with loud cries and lamentations supplicated the admiral to intercede with God in their behalf; and that for the future they would be attentive to all his wants. Having obtained this promise, Columbus said he would use his influence with the Supreme; and accordingly shut himself up, while the Indians remained without, howling in the most piteous manner, and imploring his assistance. When he perceived the eclipse about to decrease, he came out, and bade them be of good cheer; his prayers for them had been heard; and that God had forgiven them, on condition of their being kind and hospitable to the Christians. In confirmation of this, he assured them, they
would

would speedily see the moon lay aside her wrathful aspect, and shine with her former splendor.

This prognostic being verified, they adored the God of the Christians; and ever after continued to supply him and his men to the utmost of their abilities; for though they must have observed eclipses before, they thought it impossible to predict them, and therefore considered Columbus as an immediate agent of the Deity. On a review of this artifice, we cannot refrain from observing, that it was strongly tinged with impiety and presumption; but it was surely less culpable than many which the professed servants of the Supreme Being have used to promote less honourable ends.

Eight months had now elapsed since the departure of the messengers to Hispaniola; and even the firmest resolution began to waver. It was generally supposed they had perished in the sea, or been massacred by the Hispaniolan Indians. These apprehensions were confirmed by the information of some of the natives of Jamaica, who said they had seen a canoe, upset, driven on the coast by the tide. Every day adding strength to fear, a new conspiracy was formed; at the head of which was one Bernard, an apothecary. The plan was to desert the admiral in imitation of the former mutineers; but happily this was rendered abortive by the arrival of a ship from Hispaniola. The captain, whose name was James de Escobar, having come to an anchor, visited the admiral with compliments from the governor, who being, he said, unprovided with a ship sufficient for the purpose of transporting so many men, had sent him a present of a cask of wine and two stiches of bacon. Having delivered this commission-

without waiting for a reply, he weighed anchor, and sailed again the same evening. Though Columbus was stung to the soul by this abrupt departure, he concealed his emotion; and affected to say, that the caraval had sailed by his directions; because being too small to take the whole party, he was determined they should not be separated. This declaration once more silenced the conspirators. But the truth was, the governor of Hispaniola, being jealous lest Columbus, on his return to Spain, should supersede him, had sent to reconnoitre his situation, with a view of destroying him. By the arrival of this ship, however, Columbus had received undoubted intelligence, that his messengers had been able to discharge their mission; and he indulged the hope, that their remonstrances would procure him at last the wished for relief.

These resolute adventurers, faithful to their charge, had contended with many difficulties in their passage, but at last surmounted them all. For two days they continued rowing and paddling, during which they sustained the extremes of thirst, heat, and fatigue; and some of the Indians actually died for want of refreshment. At the end of the second day, they began to suspect that they had missed the right course, and despondency began to seize them; but observing the moon rise over land, which proved to be a small island about eight leagues from Hispaniola, their hopes revived with the prospect. For this spot they rowed with intense efforts; and next morning going ashore, found it barren and desolate; but it furnished water, of which some drank to such an excess, as to produce dropsies and other dangerous distempers. Having refreshed

refreshed themselves in the best manner they could; they steered their course for Cape St. Michael, the nearest land in Hispaniola, where they safely arrived. Fiesco, having reposed himself two days, would have returned to the admiral as agreed, but neither sailors nor Indians would accompany him. As for Mendez, though he laboured under a quartan ague, he set out immediately for Xaragua, and set forth the admiral's situation to the governor; who, after much importunity, gave him permission to purchase a ship at St. Domingo. This vessel afterwards sailed for Jamaica, from whence Columbus dispatched her with packets for their Catholic Majesties.

A desire of reconciliation for the benefit of all parties, prompted the admiral to attempt to bring the *Borras* back to their duty. To enforce his arguments, he set before them the prospect of a speedy voyage to their own country; informing them he had received a promise of being relieved by a caraval from Hispaniola; and in confirmation of the truth of this, sent them a part of his presents. The ring-leaders, dreading a re-union, employed all their eloquence to dissuade their adherents from accepting the proposals; and word was sent back, that they were ready to depart peaceably for Hispaniola, if the admiral would furnish them with a vessel: or if he had but one, assign one half of it for their accommodation; and in the meantime divide the clothes and commodities, in his possession, with them. To this arrogant demand was added a threat, that if he refused to comply, they would come and strip him by force.

This menace they actually resolved to put into execution, and marched down within a short dis-

tance of the wrecks. Columbus being informed of their intention, detached fifty men well armed, under the command of his brother, enjoining him to expostulate with the rebels, and to refrain from hostilities, unless first attacked. The lieutenant having advanced within bow-shot of the mutineers, desired a conference with their captain. This condescension being ascribed to fear, was treated with contempt; and they immediately fell upon his men in sure hopes of victory. Their expectations, however, were disappointed. At the first charge, five out of six of the most resolute, who had sworn to cut their way through, were brought to the ground, and among them the two most daring of the conspirators.

As for their leader, Francis de Porras, he was taken prisoner; when the rest turned their backs and fled. The lieutenant, having gained a complete victory, returned to the ships with his prisoners. Himself was wounded in the hand, and another gentleman, being pierced with a spear, afterwards died. This was the only loss that the friends of Columbus sustained. The intrepid pilot, indeed, who swam ashore as formerly mentioned, had a most miraculous escape for his life. This man being spent with wounds, fell over the rocks during the fray, and was not discovered till next evening, when some Indians found him still alive. His skull was laid open, so that his brains appeared; his arm was almost amputated; the calf of one leg hung by a ligament; and one foot was sliced from the heel to the toes. Notwithstanding these desperate wounds, he so terrified the Indians who approached him, with curses and threats, that they fled in the utmost consternation; but the admiral being apprized of his situation, ordered

ordered him all the medical assistance in his power, and, to the surprise of every one, he recovered.

To prevent future animosities, and a scarcity of provisions on board, the admiral detained Porras in confinement; and appointed a proper person to command and lead about the captive malecontents, for the convenience of finding subsistence, in exchange for such commodities as they had been supplied with.

All dissensions among the Spaniards being thus composed, the Indians became sensible of the danger of giving them offence; and assiduously supplied them with provisions. A year had now elapsed since the Spaniards were wrecked on Jamaica. The ship which Mendez had purchased, at last arrived; and Columbus, with his whole company, embarked on the 28th of June, and, after a troublesome voyage, reached St. Domingo on the 13th of August, 1504. Here the governor received him with the most fawning attentions; but as a proof that his hospitalities were only affectation, he set Porras at liberty, and even threatened to punish those who had been most active in apprehending him. As soon as the admiral's ship had been refitted, and another engaged for the accommodation of his friends, he sailed for Europe on the 2d of September. But before they had been two leagues at sea, the mast of his consort came by the board, on which she was sent back to be repaired, while he proceeded on his voyage.

After being dismasted in a violent storm, and struggling with many difficulties, as well as a fit of the gout, Columbus at last arrived in the port of St. Lucar de Barrameda. He had no sooner landed than he heard, with unspeakable regret, of the death of his munificent patroness, Isabella; "

blow which he never recovered. Ferdinand, indeed, treated him with courteous attention ; but gave strong intimations, that the terms he had stipulated for himself were too advantageous, and wished to propose coming to a new agreement. This however never took place ; the negociations entered into were interrupted by the accession of Philip to the throne of Castile, and Columbus, worn out with infirmities and chagrin, yielded up the ghost at Valadolid on the 20th of May 1506, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His remains were conveyed, by the king's order, to Seville, where, some authors say, he was magnificently interred, in the monastery of the Carthusians ; and that a monument was erected to his memory, charged with this inscription,

A GASTILIA Y A LEON.

NUEVO MUNDO DEO' COLON.

Which may be thus translated.

TO CASTILE AND LEON,

A NEW WORLD WAS GIVEN BY COLUMBUS.

Others assert, that his monument only exists at Seville ; for that his body was buried at St. Domingo, in the chancel of the cathedral ; and an article in the public prints from Spain, on the late cession of Hispaniola to France, seems to confirm this belief. For we read, that the remains of Columbus were to be transferred, with great pomp, from St. Domingo to Cuba.

Such were the adventures and the end of Columbus : a man whom all posterity will view with admiration, and honour with applause. The ingratitude he experienced is the usual return for services

services too great to be repaid. The pander or the minion of power may receive an adequate reward for his degrading servilities; but he who eclipses the splendor of an original kingdom by such an accession as a new world, may excite envy but cannot meet with a due recompence, without being considered as a rival to his prince. Perhaps the grand source of the misfortunes of Columbus was his indiscreet stipulation for a joint authority in his new discoveries. His good sense might have told him, that it was impossible to be a partner with a king.

We shall conclude the history of Columbus' voyages, with his character, as delineated by a Spanish writer of veracity. "Columbus," says he, "was tall of stature, had a long visage, and a majestic aspect. His nose was aquiline, his eyes grey, and his complexion clear and ruddy. When young, his hair and beard were fair; but hardships soon turned them grey. He was a man of wit and pleasantry, eloquent in discourse, yet moderately grave in his deportment. His affability to strangers, and his judicious conversation, gained him the affection of every ingenuous mind; while an air of authority and grandeur attracted respect. He was strict in his religious observances himself, and obliged those who were under his command to show at least a decent regard to this sacred institution. He had an earnest concern for the conversion of the Indians, and endeavoured as much as was in his power to allure them, by obliging the Spaniards to lead a life in some measure corresponding to the faith they professed. His courage was undaunted: he was fond of great enterprises.

"tempera

“ temperate in living, modest in dress, patient
“ under injuries ; and much more anxious to
“ bring his enemies to a sense of their offences,
“ than to retaliate injustice. He remained un-
“ moved amidst the numerous dangers and ad-
“ versities that attended him, ever placing a firm
“ reliance on Divine Providence. In short, had
“ he lived in earlier times, his conduct and his
“ achievements would have procured him statues
“ and temples in his honour. He would have
“ been ranked with Hercules and Bacchus ; and
“ a constellation perhaps would have borne his
“ name. However, he will be remembered as
“ long as the world endures.”

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES
OF THE
CABOTS,
AND
THEIR DISCOVERIES.

IT has been already remarked, that Bartholomew Columbus was sent to Henry VII. of England, to proffer his brother's services; and that these were lost to this country, by the court of Castile at last closing with the proposals of Columbus himself. It seems probable, however, that the ambition or curiosity of the English sovereign being roused by the details that were laid before him, induced him to wish to participate in the honours and advantages of Columbus' discoveries; if he could not possess the original title to them.

The patronage of a king will always tempt enterprise; and no country is so barren in genius and ingenuity, as not to possess some aspiring minds, to which royal protection and encouragement can communicate an enthusiasm to dare or to suffer.

Sebastian Cabot was born at Bristol, in 1467. His father was a native of Venice; and he educated his son in all those branches of mathematical learning to which commerce had then given

celebrity. Before Sebastian was twenty years of age, he had performed several voyages, and, by thus adding practice to theory, he early became eminent in the science of navigation.

The first voyage of importance in which Sebastian Cabot was engaged, seems to have been that made by his father John, who had obtained a commission from Henry VII. for a discovery of a north-west passage to India, the favourite object of Columbus. They sailed from Bristol in the spring of 1494, and pursuing their course with favouring gales, on the 24th of June saw Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of *Prima Vista*, or *First Seen*. Going ashore, on a small island on this coast, they gave it the appellation of *St. John's*, from its being discovered on the day dedicated to *St. John the Baptist*. The island was barren; but the sea abounded with fish. The natives were dressed in skins, and armed with bows, arrows, pikes, wooden clubs, darts, and slings. They returned to England with three savages on board, made a report of their discoveries, and met with a gracious reception. Cabot, the father, dying soon after, a new patent was granted to his son, Sebastian, who set sail again on the 4th of May 1497, before Columbus commenced his third voyage. He sailed as high as 67 deg. 30 min. north latitude, proceeding from thence down to 56 deg. and then explored the coast of America as low as 38 deg. This part of the continent, he expressly says, was afterwards named *Florida*. His provisions beginning to be exhausted, he sailed back; and, touching at Newfoundland, returned to England with a full cargo of the productions of the countries he had visited.

It

It is probable that Sebastian Cabot made several voyages to complete his discovery of the coast of Newfoundland. A map of his discoveries, drawn by himself, with his effigies annexed, was hung up in the private gallery at Whitehall.

Purchas, with the partiality of a man who feels for the honour of his country, expresses some indignation, that the new world should be called America, when Cabot discovered its continent before Americus Vesputius, or even Columbus himself.

Newfoundland was certainly the first of our plantations; and the spirit of enterprize, to which the discoveries of Cabot gave rise, paved the way to the naval power, the commerce, and the glory of this nation. While Spain was debilitated and rendered indolent by the riches poured into her bosom, from the discoveries of Columbus, it was the better fortune of England to secure a soil and climate which gave a new stimulus to exertion, and rendered her sons more hardy and more brave.

Of the history of a man, who indubitably first discovered the continent of America, every trace is interesting to a Briton. But, for the space of twenty years, no vestiges of his labours appear. In the eighth year of Henry VIII. he again appears on the stage: he was then furnished with a good ship of the king's, to prosecute discoveries, through the interest of Sir Thomas Pert, vice-admiral of England. It seems he had then altered his plan; and intended to sail by the south to the East Indies. For this purpose he proceeded to Brasil: but failing in his design, he shaped his course for Hispaniola and Porto Rico; and after carrying on some traffic there, returned to Eng-

land without much increasing his former reputation.

Disappointed, and probably neglected in consequence of his failure, he left England, and entered into the service of Spain, in which he rose to the highest rank, and signalized himself in many hazardous attempts to promote the views of his employers. Fortune, however, frowned upon him. In an intended voyage to the Moluccas, through the Straights of Magellan, his men became mutinous, and his project was frustrated. He, however, sailed up the rivers Plata and Paraguay, built several forts, and discovered and reduced a rich and fertile tract of country under the dominion of Spain. After spending five years in America, he returned in chagrin; and met but with a cold reception.

These circumstances conspired to make him anxious to return to his native country: about the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. he again settled at Bristol.

A spirit of commerce beginning to be diffused in England, Cabot, in 1552, was active in an enterprise to fit out some ships for the discovery of the northern parts of the world; and thereby to open new scenes of action, and new channels for traffic. The expedition took place with the patronage of government; and this was the first voyage made to Russia, and the foundation of that intercourse which has since subsisted between the two nations. Upon this first success, a Russian company was formed, of which Cabot was constituted governor for life.

After an active life, spent in the most honourable pursuits, and chiefly employed in the service of his country, he died upwards of seventy years of age.

age. Though his fame must be allowed to be far inferior to that justly due to Columbus, his claims, as an original discoverer, were infinitely superior to those of Americus Vesputius. But fortune, seconded by caprice, has given the latter a name, which we shall now see was neither merited nor just.

278

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM 1630 TO 1800
BY
JOHN H. COLEMAN
OF THE
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES
OF
AMERICUS VESPUTIUS,
AND HIS
DISCOVERIES.

AMERICUS VESPUTIUS was descended from an ancient and honourable family at Florence, where he was born in 1451. He early discovered a taste for philosophy, mathematics, and navigation. The discoveries of the Portuguese had called the attention of the studious to a more intimate acquaintance with those branches of literature which are connected with the natural history of the earth and of mankind; and had animated the enterprising to signalize themselves in the line of adventure, which they had pointed out, and to which the genius of a Columbus had just given an eclat that never could be supposed.

We have observed, that after the return of this great man from his second voyage, the malice of his enemies and the jealousy of the court began to show itself. Alonzo de Ojeda, an officer who had sailed with him, having joined his interest with Americus Vesputius, who, burned with an impatience to partake the glory of the admiral, clandestinely obtained from the Bishop of Burgos the draughts and plans which he had deposited in the hands of that prelate, by order of their Catholic Majesties; and being furnished with

four ships, according to some writers, set sail from Cadiz on the 20th of May, 1497. Vesputius, whose superier rank or address seemed to have made him considered as the principal, fell in with the coast of Paria, and ran along it as far as Terra Firma and the Gulph of Mexico; and, after an absence of eighteen months, returned to Spain. He did not pretend to dispute with Columbus the original discovery of the West Indies; but wished to have it believed, that he had first found out the continent. To effectuate this, he is said to have falsified dates, for which he has been severely censured; and being an excellent geographer and draftsman, as well as a plausible writer, he blended different accounts together; and imposing on the greatest part of Europe, gained an honour to which he had no right; that of giving his name to the new world. But no doubt now remains to whom this distinction ought to have been due; and though we must allow that America, as the name of a quarter of the globe, assimilates better with the rest than Columbia would have done; had the first discoverer of the continent been entitled to bestow an appellation on it, we have seen that this belonged to neither, but to Cabot.

Some months having elapsed, after the return of Americus Vesputius from his first voyage, he performed a second with six ships, under the auspices of Ferdinand and Isabella. It seems, however, that the semblance of justice to Columbus was kept up in the commission which Americus and other following adventurers received; they were interdicted from coming to an anchor within fifty leagues of any place where that navigator had touched,

In

In this second voyage, or as some will have it, the first, Americus proceeded to the Antilla islands, and from thence to the coasts of Guiano and Venezuela; and returned safe to Cadiz in the month of November 1500; bringing back with him many precious stones and other valuable commodities, discovered in the course of his expedition. His services were as ill requited by the Spaniards as those of the man he wished to rival and supplant; and the ingratitude he experienced made him willing to abandon the interest of that country.

Emmanuel, King of Portugal, hearing of the disaffection of Americus, and jealous of the success of their Catholic Majesties, held out proposals to this navigator, which were readily accepted.

Engaged in the service of Portugal, Americus set sail from Lisbon with three ships in May 1501. He first ran down the coast of Africa as far as the coast of Angola, and then standing over for the American continent, fell in with the Brasils, which he entirely discovered and explored as far as Patagonia to the south, and the river La Plata north. He then sailed back to Sierra Leona; and keeping along the coast of Guinea, returned to Lisbon, after a voyage of sixteen months.

His Portuguese Majesty, elated with this success, and grateful to its author, soon equipped six ships, of which he gave Americus the command, to prosecute farther discoveries. In this new voyage, it was his intention to stand along the coast of America to the south, in order to discover a passage to the Molucca islands by the west. He examined the coast from the Bay of All Saints, as far as the river Curabado; but being furnish-

ed with provisions for no more than twenty months, and being detained by contrary winds five months on the coast he had discovered, he was obliged to return to Portugal. He died at Terceira in 1514; and is deservedly ranked among the most celebrated navigators.

DISCOVERIES OF THE SPANIARDS,
FROM THE DEATH OF COLUMBUS,
TO THE
EXPEDITION OF
HERNANDO CORTEZ.

IN the old world, the barbarians desolated the abodes of civilization and science; in the new, the sons of knowledge desolated the country of the barbarians, and almost exterminated themselves.

At the recital of the enormities practised by the Spaniards on the natives of the West Indies, humanity turns pale, and the real Christian shudders to think, that persons, pretending a belief in the mild dictates of religion, should disgrace it by such flagrant cruelties. No sooner was Columbus dead than the succeeding governors, who were generally nominated by the court of Spain, in contempt of the rights of his posterity, endeavoured to purchase the same advantages by the blood of the inhabitants, which that great and amiable man had obtained by his good sense and humanity. These islands were replete with mines of gold, the real situations of which were known to the Indians alone. The accursed passion of avarice, for which even the natural infirmities of man does not furnish a temptation or an excuse

to

too furious to seek the gentle means of persuasion, hurried on the Spaniards to acts of the most shocking violence and barbarity, against all who were suspected of concealing their treasures. The slaughter once begun, no bounds were set to its rage. Hispaniola, which contained three millions of inhabitants, was depopulated in a few years; and Cuba, which had six hundred thousand, soon shared the same fate. Bartholomew de la Casas, an eye witness of those worse than Gothic depopulations, says, that the Spaniards went out with dogs to hunt after men. The unhappy savages, almost naked and unarmed, were pursued like wild beasts into dens and forests, worried by dogs, destroyed by shot, or surprised and burnt in their habitations.

But let us turn from this disgraceful view to the progress of discovery. At the time of the demise of Columbus, Nicholas de Obando was governor of Hispaniola. He had signalized his diligence by surveys of the coasts, and his inhumanity, by dividing the Indians among the Spaniards, by whom they were at best considered as slaves. Gold was the universal pursuit; and though there was more than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling annually produced from this island, it was far from satisfying the covetousness of those who were employed in amassing it.

Juan Ponce de Leon was commander of a province under Obando; and being informed by the Indians that gold was plentiful in Porto Rico, he obtained a licence from the governor to colonize it. While thus employed, Don Diego Columbus came out as his father's successor, to take upon himself the government of Hispaniola; and had brought

brought with him from Spain a new governor for Porto Rico. Ponce disputing his authority, the young admiral set them both aside, and invested Michael Cerron with that office. However, Ponce, by intriguing with the enemies of the family of Columbus, procured a commission from Spain for seizing Cerron, whom he sent prisoner to Spain. Ponce now set about conquering the island; and notwithstanding the kindness with which the Indians had treated him, he first enslaved, and then nearly exterminated them.

Cerron, supported by the representations of Columbus, again prevailed; and was sent back to possess his former employment. Ponce, thus reduced to the rank of a private man, fitted out two ships for making new discoveries; and on the 2d of April 1512, fell in with land unknown to the Spaniards, in latitude 30 deg. 8 min. and believing it to be an island, named it Florida, from its beautiful appearance.

About the same time, Alonzo de Ojeda, who had served under Christopher Columbus, being desirous of making new settlements, obtained a grant of all the land which had been discovered on the continent; but Diego Nicuesa, a man of superior wealth interposing, came in for a moiety of the grant. The court of Spain allowed the former all the country called Andalusia, and the latter that of Golden Castile. In these arrangements the claims of the younger Columbus, to whom they belonged in right of his father's discovery, were entirely overlooked.

Each of these adventurers fitting out two vessels, soon began to quarrel about their respective rights; but having adjusted their disputes, they left Hispaniola towards the end of 1510. Ojeda

in a few days arrived at Carthagena, where the Indians prepared to oppose him; being irritated by some injuries they had received from several Spanish adventurers. They were men of large stature, and both sexes were extremely expert with the bow. Ojeda, by means of some priests and interpreters, endeavoured to pacify them, and to prevail on them to submit to the Spanish yoke, and to adopt its religion. He then attempted to open a traffic with them; but finding them irreconcilable, he fell upon them, killed numbers, took their town, and seized all the gold he could find. He then marched four leagues within land; but having divided his men into small parties, they were every where cut off with flights of poisoned arrows. Ojeda and another were the only survivors of seventy persons who had landed.

Happily for this adventurer, his partner Nicuesa now appeared on the coast; and being informed of the calamity, generously told his rival, that they ought to bury their animosities in oblivion, and unite in revenging the death of their countrymen. They accordingly landed four hundred men, and, marching against the Indians, burnt one of their towns, captured a considerable number, and possessed themselves of abundance of gold.

Having obtained this victory, they separated, to pursue their respective plans. Ojeda fixed a settlement on the eastern promontory of the isthmus of Darien; and called the town St. Sebastian. Soon finding that the natives were exasperated at this infringement of their territorial rights, he dispatched one of his captains to Hispaniola for a supply of men and provisions; and

in

In the meanwhile drew intrenchments round the town. However, being soon in want of necessaries, he was obliged to make excursions into the country, by which he lost many of his men; and notwithstanding the arrival of considerable reinforcements and succours, they were soon again reduced to the utmost distress. Hunger forced them out; while the Indians constantly drove them back with loss.

From this distressing situation, the dexterity and presence of mind of a person named Nunez de Balboa, served to relieve them. This person was of a good family and possessed great abilities. He had formerly sailed along that coast, and had afterwards obtained a respectable settlement in Hispaniola. But having committed some irregularities, he was in danger of being put to death. In this dilemma, he contrived to be put on board the ship sent to Hispaniola for succours, in a bread cask; and having remained there some days, at last ventured to make his appearance. The captain, whose name was Enciso, was startled at the sight. He had been ordered not to give any protection to offenders; and though what had happened, was without his knowledge, he threatened to set Nunez ashore on the first desert place he came to. The intercession of the principal persons on board prevailed in his favour, and Enciso was pacified.

Nunez observing that the company were in despair, wished to ingratiate and distinguish himself. He told them, that they had no reason to despond; that at the bottom of the gulph there was a very large town in a fruitful soil, and a fine climate; that the Indians, though warlike,

did not make use of poisoned arrows; and to conclude, he advised them to sail thither.

This resolution being adopted, they sailed to the river Darien, and found the description of Nunez verified. The cacique and his people, hearing that the Spaniards were approaching, secured their wives and children; and with five hundred men took their stand on a small eminence. The Spaniards fell upon them with impetuosity; instantly put them to flight; and entering their town, found it full of provisions. The plunder they met with was considerable; and so great was the trepidation of the Indians, that they retired a considerable way from the shore.

The success of this enterprise gained the projector much reputation. It was unanimously agreed to settle a colony here, and to call it St. Mary the ancient of Darien,

Nunez now plotted to be revenged on Enciso for his threat, and this officer forwarded the scheme against himself, by ordering that none of the company should trade with the Indians for gold, on pain of death. This gave rise to a suggestion, that Enciso wished to monopolize this valuable metal to himself; and so artfully did Nunez work on the passions and prejudices of the party, that it was resolved to throw off all allegiance to Enciso. To give a colour to their conduct, they pretended that his authority was expired; as they were now out of the limits of Ojeda's government, from whom he had received his appointment. They now chose magistrates like those in Spain, at the head of whom was Nunez; but soon disliking this form of government

ment, new disputes arose which were, however, terminated by the arrival of Colmenares with two ships, laden with provisions and military stores, intended for Nicuesa.

Colmenares had put into a port about sixty leagues distance from this place, where sending his men on shore to water, they were suddenly attacked by the Indians, who wounded forty-five of the Spaniards with poisoned arrows, and flayed the boat. All the wounded died, save one. This officer expecting to have found either Ojeda's or Nicuesa's party on the east side of the bay, was surprised, and began to be apprehensive they were all dead. He, however, ordered some pieces of cannon to be fired, and fires to be lighted on the tops of the rocks, as a signal that their friends were on the coast. These being observed and repeated by the settlement at Santa Maria, Colmenares steered for the place; and making a liberal distribution of provisions among them without distinction, prevailed on them to submit to the government of Nicuesa.

That gentleman, after parting with Alonzo de Ojeda, met with a violent tempest, when Lopez de Olana, his lieutenant, perceiving the ships separated, conceived the design of deserting his patron; but failing in his project of making himself independent, he sailed to Veragua, the place of rendezvous, where he endeavoured to persuade the people to return to Hispaniola, alleging, that Nicuesa must have perished. Meanwhile a shallop brought intelligence that he was stranded on the coast; and was now in a miserable situation. The heart of Olana relented at this intelligence. He immediately sent back the shallop with necessaries and refreshments, which saved Nicuesa

and his men from perishing. Nevertheless he clapped his lieutenant in irons for his perfidious intentions, and threatened to send him to Spain.

Nicuesa now established a colony on the banks of the river Bethlem, where Columbus had formerly made an abortive attempt; but provisions soon failing, he sailed from thence with a part of his men for Porto Bello. Here the Indians opposed his landing; on which he proceeded to Nombre de Dios, where he began to erect a fortress.

The same fatality attended him here. He was soon obliged to send to Columbus, requesting assistance; but scarce was the vessel departed when Colmenares arrived to his relief. This captain was so affected at seeing the distressed and miserable appearance of Nicuesa and his people, that he could not refrain from shedding tears. He strove all in his power to comfort and assist them; and told Nicuesa the favourable prospects that awaited him at Santa Maria.

This served to revive his fainting spirits; but forgetting his wretched condition, and the gratitude he owed that party for their voluntary acceptance of him as governor, was so elated and imprudent as to declare, that he should possess himself of their gold, and punish them also for presuming to settle within his territory. An insatiation seemed to attend him. He struck out of his way to view some islands; and one of his ships getting the start of him, gave the fatal information to the colony; and it was determined he should not be suffered to land.

After an imprudent and unnecessary delay, he anchored at Santa Maria; when, with surprise, he found their determination to reject him. He
now

now changed his tone, and supplicated they would hear him. He even ventured ashore for that purpose, but was obliged to seek safety by flight. His next attempt was to soften them, by beseeching they would accept him as a companion, if they disclaimed his authority; and on that failing, he even implored they would detain him as a prisoner, as he would rather die than return to Nombre de Dios. Notwithstanding this humiliation, they cruelly forced him and seventeen of his men into an old rotten bark, and they were heard of no more.

While we blame this man's imprudence, we cannot help pitying his fate. He had shown some generosity to a rival, and it is not likely he would have made an improper use of his power over friends. Nunez de Balboa now took the lead, and distinguished himself for his good conduct. He made some important discoveries; and was the first European who had a view of the Great South Sea, which paved the way to the conquest of Peru.

We will now briefly detail the events that led to the conquest of Mexico. Though all the commissions bestowed on the above adventurers were so many infringements of the original patent granted to Columbus, his son was even blamed for not succouring them as much as lay in his power. A constant jealousy attended his steps; and of this he was so sensible, that he exerted himself to the utmost, to secure to himself those countries to which he had legal pretensions, in virtue of his father's contract.

Being informed that the court of Spain was desirous of planting a colony in Cuba, he resolved to anticipate the measure; and for this purpose

mar

made choice of James Velasquez, the wealthiest and most respected of all the inhabitants in Hispaniola, to conduct the enterprise. But before we proceed, it may entertain our readers to give them an anecdote of one of the caciques of Cuba, on hearing of the intended colony. This man assembled the most warlike of his people with due solemnity; and reminding them of the sufferings they had endured under the tyranny of the Spaniards, told them that the whites committed all these outrages for the sake of a great lord, of whom they were very fond, and whom he would shew them. Then taking some gold out of a little basket, he added, "This is the lord whom they adore; him they follow, and are now coming hither in search of him. Let us therefore make a festival and dance to him, that when they come, he may enjoin them not to hurt us." They accordingly began to dance and sing. At last Hatuey, for that was the cacique's name, admonished the assembly; that though they should conceal this lord of the Christians in their very bowels, the Spaniards would find him out; and that the best way was to cast him into the midst of the river, which was immediately performed.

No sooner were the Spaniards in Hispaniola informed, that Valasquez was going to colonize Cuba, than many of them resolved to accompany him. About three hundred men having assembled, they embarked on board four ships; and in November, 1511, landed at a port called Palina, in the territories of the facetious Hatuey. This cacique stood upon the defensive, taking advantage of the woods, where the Spanish horse could not penetrate. In this manner the warfare was carried on for two months. The Indians hid themselves

themselves in the most retired forests; but wherever they appeared, they were hunted like wild beasts. Hatuey at last withdrew to the most inaccessible places; but having had the misfortune to be taken, he was ordered by the worse than savage Velasquez to be burnt alive. After this inhuman example of severity, the Indians yielded to their fate.

The governor now divided the native Indians among the settlers, as Obando had done before at Hispaniola; and founded a town on the north side of the island at a place called Barracoa.

A party from Jamaica soon joined the settlers in Cuba. Among the rest came a gentleman named Pamphilio de Narvaez with thirty archers under his command, who was well received by Velasquez, and sent into the province of Bayamo, a fine champaign country, at fifty leagues distance. While on the road, he and his party were attacked in the night by a considerable body of the natives; but Pamphilio mounting his horse, they were so terrified at the sight of that noble animal, which they had never seen before, that they fled into a distant part of the country; and Velasquez sending a detachment to join Narvaez, he soon made himself master of the whole province.

When Cuba was first planted, it was so over-run with woods, that a person might travel near seven hundred miles under the shade of various kinds of trees, particularly red cedars, of which the natives made canoes, capable of containing fifty or sixty men.

For some time, after the Spaniards settled here, they found pure gold in the rivers abundantly; but this soon began to fail. This island however

is still one of the most important belonging to the crown of Spain. Its principal towns are now St. Jago and the Havannah.

Velasquez having established his power in Cuba, was ambitious of proving himself independent of Columbus, under whom he had hitherto acted. This gentleman being recalled into Spain, endeavoured to oppose his views; but, with so little success, as it was the policy of the court to thwart his measures, that Velasquez could not be displaced without the consent of the crown, though it was held that he was still accountable to Columbus for the exercise of his power.

Velasquez having now little to fear, turned his attention to discoveries. Many of the opulent Spanish settlers entered into his designs; and among the rest Francis Hernandez de Cordova, who offered his services as captain. His proposal being accepted, two ships and a brigantine, with one hundred and ten soldiers sailed from the Havannah, on the 8th of February, 1517. After a voyage of twenty days, they saw land; and coming near the shore, they observed a large town, and two canoes full of men approaching to meet them. The Spaniards, hailing the Indians, about thirty of them went on board the commodore. These people wore a light cotton dress. They were hospitably entertained, and received small presents, which so pleased them, that they intimated they would return next day with more canoes to carry the Spaniards on shore.

According to their promise, they returned with twelve canoes, on board of which was the caïque, who cried out in his native tongue, "Come to my house," or Conez Cotoche, from which the place was called Cape Cotoche. An
infinite

infinite number of natives attended the landing of the Spaniards; and wonder and admiration seemed depicted in every face. Cordova, with a view of seeing the country, was resolved to accept the cacique's invitation; but he had not proceeded far before the Indians, on a signal from the chief, started from an ambuscade, and began to attack the Spaniards with showers of stones and arrows. These people were dressed in cotton jackets, well quilted; they had wooden swords edged with flint, spears, bows and arrows, slings, and targets; their heads were adorned with plumes; and their faces were painted of various colours. After the first discharge, they boldly rushed on the Spaniards; but the fire-arms to which they had been unaccustomed, soon threw them in disorder; and they fled with the loss of several men. In this skirmish two youths were taken, who afterwards bore the Christian names of Julian and Melchior.

Notwithstanding this treacherous reception, the Spaniards were highly delighted to have discovered a people who shewed some signs of civilization, and who had made such progress in the useful arts, that they could build houses of lime and stone. They now proceeded along the coast for fifteen days, when they entered a bay called Campeche, to water. Having filled their casks, they were about to return to the ships, when a party of fifty Indians meeting them, asked if they came from the rising of the sun, and then conducted them to some temples erected of stone, containing several shapeless idols, sprinkled with recent blood. From one of these temples descended two men in white mantles, with their long black hair twisted up, who held little earthen fire-pans, into which they cast a certain odorous gum. Having
thus

thus perfumed the Spaniards, they ordered them to depart the country on pain of death.

Proceeding along the coast for six days more, they again landed, to water, in the vicinity of a town called Potanchan, whence they observed a body of armed men advancing towards them; but as night was approaching, they seemed to retire to the town. On this the Spaniards imprudently remained on the shore during the night; but in the morning, found themselves entirely surrounded by a numerous army. Alarmed at this situation, they were convinced that nothing but desperation could save them; and they resolved to exert all their powers. As soon as it was light, the Indians began the charge with showers of arrows, darts, and stones, by which about eighty Spaniards were wounded, among whom was Cordova. Finding it impossible to prevail against such an immense host, and hemmed in on all sides, the Spaniards cut their way through to the boats, while the Indians pursued them into the water with hideous yells. In this disastrous encounter forty-seven Spaniards were killed; and all, save one, were wounded. It was immediately resolved to burn one of the ships for want of hands, and to return to Cuba.

In consequence of the late unfortunate affray, they had been obliged to leave their casks on shore; and the want of water began soon to be most severely felt. Some of the soundest of the men being landed, to fill their jars, could find none but what was brackish; this obliged them to steer for Florida. Here having landed near a creek, and dug pits, they found pure wholesome water; but while they were engaged in washing linen for the wounded, and laying in such a stock
of

of the necessary fluid, as they had conveniencies for carrying, an alarm was given, that the Indians were upon them. This was too true: numbers of canoes were proceeding down the creek, filled with armed men, clothed in deer skins. These let fly their arrows, and wounded six of the Spaniards; but perceiving the dreadful effects of muskets and cross-bows, they fled to their canoes; and the Spaniards returned unmolested to the ship. After suffering all that human nature can endure from drought, and encountering many perils, they at last reached the Havannah, from whence Cordova, having transmitted an account of his unfortunate expedition to Governor Velasquez, died of his wounds in a few days after.

The intelligence which Velasquez received was so gratifying, that it inspired him with the resolution of pursuing discoveries, among a people comparatively civilized; and therefore comparatively richer than any yet known on this continent. His resolution was encouraged by many of the principal persons under his government; and three ships and a brigantine were speedily equipped.

John Grijalva was appointed commodore of this squadron, with orders to prosecute discoveries, but to make no settlements. He sailed from Cuba on the 8th of May, 1518, visited the coast of Florida, discovered the island of Cozumel, and sailed along the continent to the town of Potanchan. Here the natives feeling elated by their success against Cordova, took up arms; but being speedily routed, the Spaniards took possession of their town, where they found only three persons remaining, who were liberally treated, and dismissed to join their countrymen.

Continuing their course by day, and lying by in the night, at last they discovered a large river, but so shallow that it would not admit of ships of burden. This the Spaniards named Rio de Grijalva, and sailing up it in some boats, soon perceived the Indians watching their motions, with fifty canoes full of armed men. Both parties seemed jealous of each other: at last the Spaniards sent two Indian converts, Julian and Melchior, to inform the Indians that they were come on business, which they trusted would be mutually agreeable. On this some of the Indians drew near, when the interpreters were ordered to inform them, that the Spaniards were the subjects of a great king, to whom mighty princes paid obedience; that it would be for their advantage to put themselves under his protection, and in the mean time to supply them, his subjects, with provisions. To these proposals the natives prudently replied, that they would furnish them with provisions; but having a king of their own, they could not see what right strangers had to wish to impose a new one on them. They warned them to beware of incensing a people who had twenty-four thousand armed men; and gave them to understand, that they would not be so easily managed as the inhabitants of Potanchan. They concluded with observing, that they would faithfully report what they had heard to their chiefs, who were now assembled to decide on peace or war. The commodore made them some presents, and charged them to return with an answer, or he should be obliged to enter their town, though not with a hostile intention.

The deputies having delivered their message from the Spaniards, it seems the chiefs thought
peace

peace preferable to war; and therefore sent a number of their people laden with fish, poultry, bread, and fruit, for the use of the ships. These being freed from their burdens, spread their mats on the ground, and covered them with some beautiful works in feathers. They then communicated to the Spaniards, that it was the intention of their lord to visit the ships on the morrow.

At the time appointed, the cacique appeared with a numerous retinue, unarmed; and without showing any symptoms of jealousy, went on board Grijalva's ship. The commodore was a genteel young man, and had on a loose coat of crimson velvet, a cap of the same, and other rich ornaments of dress. He received the chief with respect; and both sitting down, a conference by means of interpreters began. After some time the cacique rose; and ordering a trunk to be produced, took from it plates of gold, and boards covered with gold for armour; and trying the different pieces on Grijalva, at last fitted him with a complete suit of golden armour, presenting him at the same time with various ornaments in feathers and gold.

The commodore then put a very fine shirt on the cacique, and his own coat of crimson velvet. He likewise furnished him with a new pair of shoes, some strings of beads, and other trinkets, most estimable in the eyes of Indians. The attendants of the cacique also came in for a share of these presents.

The richness of the armour with which Grijalva had been invested, amounting to no less than three thousand pieces of eight, stimulated the avarice of the Spaniards; and made them

eager to settle in a country so productive of wealth.

The commodore, unwilling to offend the natives by a protracted stay, proceeded farther; and came to a town named Agualunco, where the inhabitants appeared at a distance carrying targets of tortoiseshell, which glittering in the sun, gave the Spaniards the idea they were gold.

Sailing from thence, they saw several spacious rivers, and in one of them the Indians waving pieces of white cloth affixed to poles, as if inviting them to land. On this a captain and some musketeers were sent ashore, with orders to give notice, if the natives put themselves in a warlike posture.

It may be proper to observe, that the Spaniards were now within the confines of the potent empire of Mexico; the throne of which was then filled by Montezuma. This prince hearing of the exploits of the Spaniards, and the desire they showed to explore countries over which they had no right, began to be apprehensive and vigilant. He therefore gave directions to his governors to entertain these strangers with civility, to penetrate as far as possible into their views, and to transmit him an account of all their motions.

In conformity to these instructions, no sooner were the Spaniards landed, than the Mexicans offered them fowls, bread, and fruit; and perfumed them with gum copal in a fire-pan. Montejo, the captain of the Spanish party, sent intelligence to the commodore, in what manner he was received; on which he brought up the ships, and landed his men. Grijalva was treated with great respect; a traffic with the Indians commenced; and

and in six days, the Spaniards procured, by barter, as much gold as was valued at fifteen thousand pieces of eight.

The commodore having made some presents of insignificant value to the principal persons, took possession of the country for the king of Spain. He then embarked, and passing several islands, landed in one where he found a temple containing several idols, and four priests dressed in black mantles, who had that very day sacrificed two boys, who were discovered with their hearts torn out; a piece of cruelty which shocked even the sanguinary Spaniards.

Grijalva, tarrying at this island several days, thought proper to dispatch Alverado, one of his officers, to Velasquez with news of his discoveries, and all the valuables he had obtained from the Indians. Velasquez, notwithstanding his success, received an unfavourable impression of the commodore, through the artifices of Alverado, who wished to plant a colony among the new discoveries.

In the meanwhile, Grijalva coasting along, came to the mouth of the river Tarala, to which he gave the appellation of St. Anthony. Here he careened his ship; and began a traffic with the Indians for gold. Some of them brought very bright copper axes, which the Spaniards mistaking for gold, purchased six hundred of them; and the natives were so well pleased with the returns they obtained, that they would have willingly parted with their whole stock. Thus avarice for once was caught in its own snare.

From this place the commodore set sail for Cuba direct; and in forty-five days arrived at the port of Melancas, with gold to a considerable

land. The excesses of the Huns and the Vandals are the execration of every reflecting mind; but if we view, with unprejudiced optics, the transactions of some of the most enlightened people of the earth, in the mirror of truth, we shall be brought to allow with shame, that, though ignorance may admit of some palliation, knowledge, which is only applied to perpetuate greater crimes with systematic effect, can find neither extenuation nor excuse.

But to return. It having been determined to fit out an expedition for the continent of America, to take advantage of circumstances, and to enrich the adventurers and their employers with gold, Hernando Cortez was appointed commander. This gentleman was born at Medelin, a town of Estremadura in Spain; and being bred to a military life, resolved to push his fortune in the West Indies, whither he sailed in 1504, with letters of recommendation to his kinsman Don Nicholas de Obando, then governor of Hispaniola. He was received by his relation with due cordiality, and kindly entertained; but nothing could divert his propensity to arms, and Hispaniola being in a state of peace, he desired leave to serve in Cuba, where war still raged, against the natives. Arriving there, he distinguished himself as a valiant soldier and able commander; and was afterwards appointed chief magistrate, or alcalde of St. Jago. This situation he filled when the expedition to the continent was planned; and being fleshed in blood, was deemed a proper person to conduct the enterprise.

His commission being made out as captain general of the fleet, and of the countries he should discover and subdue for Spain, he set sail from
Cuba

Cuba on the 18th of November 1518, with ten small vessels, not exceeding one hundred tons burden. His whole compliment of men was about six hundred; he had besides eighteen horses, and a small number of field-pieces.

Passing over his previous transactions and adventures, we find him on the coast of Mexico, with a force scarcely adequate for the reduction of a single town, or the maintenance of a single post, he proposes to subdue an empire of considerable power and great extent. An empire, rich in resources, and inhabited by millions of Indians, passionately attached to war, and governed by a warlike chief, Montezuma, the terror of whose arms had been felt by the neighbouring nations; and whose abilities in the science of government were by no means contemptible.

Had this expedition happened in very remote ages, so romantic are the circumstances attending it, that it would have ranked, in point of authenticity with the Argonautic, or the labours of Hercules. Never was more achieved by less improbable means. The empire of Mexico had subsisted for many centuries: its inhabitants were far advanced in refinement, and remote from barbarism; they were intelligent, and in some degree learned. Like the ancient Egyptians, whose wisdom is so much admired in this particular, they know the annual revolution of the sun, with a precision which could scarcely have been expected from a people unacquainted with letters. They fixed the period of the year at three hundred and sixty-five days nearly. Their superiority in military affairs, was the object of admiration and terror over the remote parts of the continent; and their constitution, founded on the sure basis of religion and

law

law, seemed as permanent as time itself. The cities displayed magnificence in architecture, and opulence in their decorations. But all these advantages combined could not secure Mexico from the unequal prowess of Spain.

Cortez, in his march, met with but a timid and spiritless opposition from the natives along the coast of this empire. They were terrified at the very appearance of a people whom they supposed of a higher order, and of invincible strength. The warlike animals, on which the Spanish officers were mounted, had before this time discomfited the Indians with a sight; the artificial thunder issuing from their hands, which was ascribed to a preternatural origin; the wooden castles, which wafted them over the ocean, from lands too remote to be conceived by the inhabitants of the new world, struck them with such a panic and awe, that when they began to recover themselves, it was too late to prevent the consequences.

Wherever the Spaniards advanced, they spared neither sex nor age, neither things sacred nor profane. At last the people of Flascala, and some other maritime states, despairing of being able to oppose them by force, or depress them by cunning, entered into an alliance with their invaders; and joined their armies to those of invincible conquerors, as they were reputed. When divisions once take place in a country, ruin is sure to ensue. They who support the invaders or encourage the foe, and they who oppose, are soon involved in one common danger and disgrace.

Cortez, being thus reinforced by new auxiliaries, marched on towards Mexico; and, in his progress, discovers a volcano of sulphur and salt-petre,

petre, from whence he could supply himself with powder. This was fortunate beyond his hopes. Montezuma heard of his advance with irrefolution, nor dared to oppose it. Yet the Spanish writers, probably to magnify the greatness of their exploits, represent this sovereign as commanding thirty tributary princes, each of whom could bring one hundred thousand men into the field.

A monarch, thus formidable in his own country, dares not resist a handful of Spaniards, aided by a few natives, whose fidelity would be shaken by the first reverse of fortune. Such was the difference between the inhabitants of the two worlds; or such was the effect of fear produced by the fame of the Spanish victories, which flew like lightning before them.

After some feeble efforts to avert the impending storm, Montezuma sent a rich present of gold to Cortez, which only served to whet his avarice; and make him more anxious to possess his undivided treasures.

The emperor became daily more depressed and devout. He resorted to the temples; he increased the number of human sacrifices; and at length assembling his magicians, ordered them, on pain of death, to stupify or overcome the Spaniards by their incantations. A considerable number of these necromancers set out; but having performed their incantations without effect, they returned and told Montezuma, that his ruin was decreed, and the dissolution of his empire at hand.

The superstitious prince was petrified with this report. At last, recovering his speech, he exclaimed, "If our gods forsake us, let the

"strangers come. It would be dishonourable to turn our backs on misfortunes; but," added he, "I lament the old men, women, and children, who cannot defend themselves."

From this moment, he gave up all for lost; and began to prepare for the reception of the Spaniards. Cortez, pursuing his march, was visited by one of Montezuma's nephews. He was a young man of an agreeable aspect, and was carried on the shoulders of his servants, in a chair adorned with curiously diversified plumage. He no sooner alighted, than his attendants began to sweep the ground, and form a circle for him. Cortez, advancing to the door of his apartment, received him with a low bow, which the prince returned, by touching the earth and then his lips with his right hand. This salutation passed, he sat down, and welcomed Cortez and his captains with an easy air. He descanted on the amicable disposition of Montezuma; and enumerated the difficulties that lay in his way to a visit of Mexico, from the sterility of last season; so that strangers could not expect to be liberally provided for, when the natives themselves were in want. After this, he received a present of some fictitious jewels, with which he seemed highly delighted; and immediately set out to report his embassy.

The Spaniards marching with their usual circumspection and order, after passing through some of the most splendid cities in the empire, at last had a sight of Mexico, distinguished above all the rest by the height of its towers, and the grandeur and multiplicity of its buildings. Before they had advanced half way, they were met by about four thousand nobles and officers of the city; who, having paid their obeisance, faced
about

about and proceeded before the troops. At a small distance from Mexico, the causeway, over the lake in which it stood, was crossed by a bulwark of stone; and the entrance into the city was secured by gates, a draw bridge, and a second fortification. The nobles had no sooner passed on the other side of the bridge, than they formed a lane for the army to pass through. A spacious street soon saluted their view, the houses of which were uniformly built, and the windows and battlements filled with spectators. Nobody, however, was seen in the streets, as the emperor had ordered them to be cleared; having himself resolved to show Cortez an extraordinary mark of his favour, by coming in person to receive him.

Scarce had the Spaniards entered the city, when they perceived the first troop of the royal retinue, consisting of two hundred noblemen, richly and uniformly habited, who, approaching the strangers, with eyes fixed on the ground, fell back on each side. Then appeared another company, still more splendidly dressed, in the centre of whom was Montezuma, in a chariot of burnished gold, surrounded with beautiful plumes, and carried on the shoulders of his favourites. Over his head four persons held a canopy of green feathers, interwoven with silver. He was immediately preceded by three officers with golden rods, which from time to time were lifted up, as a signal of the emperor's approach; that all might fall prostrate and hide their faces.

Cortez dismounted at a small distance, when Montezuma did the same, and walked on carpets which were spread in the street. His pace was slow and solemn; and he leaned on two of his cousins, who governed large provinces. He was

about forty years of age, of a middle stature, and good presence ; but his constitution seemed rather delicate than robust. His nose was aquiline, his eyes lively, his hair short, his complexion fair for a Mexican, and his look pensive, but majestic. He wore on his head a kind of golden mitre ; and was dressed in a mantle of fine cotton, covered with gold, pearls, and precious stones, carelessly suspended on his shoulders. His shoes resembled the Roman sandals, with soles of gold.

Cortez hastily advanced, and made a profound reverence, which Montezuma returned in the manner of his country, already described. At this the Mexicans were greatly astonished ; as none of their emperors had ever shewn such condescension before. Cortez wore about his neck a chain of glass, in imitation of diamonds and emeralds, which he had reserved as a present for his first audience ; and coming up to the emperor, threw it about his neck. The princes who supported Montezuma, with some emotion, signified that it was not lawful to approach so near ; but the emperor reprimanding them, bowed his head to show that he accepted the present ; and in return, put a rich ornament, of crimson shells and gold, round the neck of Cortez. The Spanish general then made a short speech, to which the emperor made a suitable reply. Thus ended the first interview ; the particulars of which we thought it might be entertaining to record.

It was on the 8th of November 1519, that Cortez entered the city of Mexico. A palace was immediately set apart for the strangers ; which had been built by Montezuma's father, and was large enough to accommodate the whole army. It was erected of stones, flanked with
towers ;

towers; and many of the apartments were furnished with cotton hangings and ornamental feather-work. The chairs were formed of solid pieces of wood; and the bedsteads had curtains like pavilions. The beds themselves and the bolsters were of palm mats.

Cortez had no sooner distributed his guards, and placed his artillery before the gates, than he found a splendid banquet provided for him and his officers, and plenty of provisions for all his soldiers, with many Mexican attendants, who waited on them in profound silence.

In the evening, Cortez received a visit from the emperor, who came in the same state as before. The Spaniard met him in the principal square; and both entering the apartment together, Montezuma seated himself, and ordering a chair to be brought for Cortez, is said to have addressed him in the following terms: "Before you explain the particulars of your embassy, illustrious captain, let you and I lay aside the prejudices we have each imbibed of the other, from the misrepresentations of common fame. You have in some quarters heard that I am a god; that my power is invincible, and my riches immense; that my palaces are covered with gold; and that the earth groans beneath the weight of my treasures. On other occasions, you have been informed, that I am a tyrant, insolent, cruel, and unjust. By both representations you have been equally imposed on. This arm of flesh and blood shows that I am a mortal, and these walls and roofs demonstrate that my palaces are not covered with gold. From these instances before your eyes, you

“ may likewise conclude that the account of my
“ vices is also exaggerated by my enemies.

“ We have also received various contradictory
“ sentiments of you. Some have affirmed you
“ are gods, who grasp the thunder, control the
“ elements, and compel the beasts of the forest
“ to obey your commands. You have been re-
“ presented by others as proud, vindictive, vo-
“ luptuous, and transported with an insatiable
“ cupidity for gold. Yet I now see, that I have
“ been alike deceived by these jarring accounts.
“ You are formed like other men, and only dis-
“ tinguished from us by the peculiarities of your
“ country. The beasts that so readily obey you,
“ are large deer, trained up to discipline. Your
“ arms, that produce lightning, I conceive to
“ be barrels of metal, and their effect, like that
“ of our sarbacans, proceeds from air compress-
“ ed and striving for vent ; and as to fire, noise,
“ and smoke, they surely originate from inchant-
“ ment. In a word, we believe that the great
“ prince, to whom you pay obedience, is a de-
“ scendant of Quezalcoal, lord of the seven
“ caves of the Navatlaques, and lawful sove-
“ reign of the seven nations that gave rise to the
“ Mexican empire. For, from the tradition of
“ many ages, we know that he left these coun-
“ tries to conquer new regions in the east, with
“ a promise, that in process of time his descend-
“ ants should return to new-model our laws, and
“ reform our government. We have therefore al-
“ ready determined, that every thing shall be done
“ for the honour of a prince, who is the offspring
“ of such an illustrious progenitor.”

To this harangue, Cortez replied, “ we have
“ it is true, Sir, heard very opposite accounts of
“ your

“ your character, which has been extolled by
“ some, and vilified by others; but as the Spa-
“ niards have penetration enough to distinguish
“ the colours of discourse, we have given no
“ credit either to your flatterers or your foes;
“ but came into your presence with full assur-
“ ance of your being a great and equitable
“ prince. You justly conclude we are mortal;
“ though more intelligent and valiant than your
“ vassals. Our beasts are not deer, but are of a
“ more generous breed of animals, fond of war,
“ and aspiring with a kind of ambition to the
“ glory of their masters: and as to our arms,
“ they are fabricated by human industry, with-
“ out the assistance of magic; an abominable
“ art which we detest. I am come as ambassa-
“ dor to your majesty from the most powerful
“ monarch on whom the sun sheds his beams at
“ his first rising. He desires to be your friend
“ and confederate; and though, according to
“ your traditions, he might pretend to be more
“ absolute in these dominions, he wishes to ar-
“ rogate to himself no authority, but to promote
“ your advantage, and to convince you that you
“ have departed from the worship of the true
“ God, in order to pay your adoration to insen-
“ sate wood, carved by your own hands, to
“ which you inhumanly sacrifice your fellow-
“ creatures.”

Having ended his speech, Montezuma arose, saying, “ I accept the friendship and confederacy of the great descendant of Quezalcoal; but all gods are good, and yours may be so without prejudice to mine. In the mean while, repose yourselves; you are in your own house, where you shall be punctually served with all possible respect.”

He then ordered some very valuable presents to be introduced, and to be given to Cortez; and with a cheerful air, distributed some jewels among the Spaniards who were present.

Next day Cortez had an audience at the emperor's palace. This magnificent building had thirty gates that communicated with as many streets. The principal front took up one side of a spacious square, and was composed of red, white, and black jasper, beautifully polished; and, in a large shield over the gate, were represented Montezuma's arms; a griffin with expanded wings, holding a tiger in its talons.

After passing three squares, they reached the emperor's apartments; the walls of which were covered with cotton hangings, intermixed with furs; and the interior rooms were hung with a beautiful kind of tapestry, formed of plumes of various colours. The floors were covered with mats, and the roofs were of cypress, cedar, and other odoriferous woods, adorned with foliages and other relievos; and though the use of nails was unknown to the Mexicans, the ceilings were so contrived, that the planks supported each other.

Montezuma, who was standing alone, advanced to meet Cortez, and the customary salutations passed. Then, being seated, the emperor entered into conversation with great affability, and asked a number of pertinent questions; observing how much the Mexicans were obliged to the descendants of their first king; and seemed to exult in having the prophecies fulfilled in his reign.

Cortez, turning the discourse on religion, inveighed against human sacrifices with such warmth, that Montezuma banished human flesh from his table.

Some

Some days after, the emperor, who was still much attached to the superstitions of his country, conducted Cortez and some of his principal officers to the chief temple, that they might be spectators of its magnificence. He explained the particulars of their worship with such solemnity, that the Spaniards could scarcely refrain from laughter; and Cortez himself, transported by an unseasonable zeal, cried out, "allow me, Sire, to fix the cross of Christ before those images of the devil; and you will see whether they deserve adoration or contempt." Montezuma and his priests felt enraged at this proposal; but showed a more liberal mind than their pretended reformers, as they not only allowed the Spaniards to fit up a chapel, but frequently attended during the celebration of mass.

We beg leave to subjoin a short description of the imperial city of Mexico. It was divided into two parts; one, the residence of the lower classes; the other, appropriated to the court and the nobility. Both parts contained about sixty thousand families. This capital stood in an extensive plain, environed by rocks and lofty mountains, from which many rivulets issuing, formed a variety of beautiful and spacious lakes. The two largest lakes had a communication with each other; and one of them was fresh and the other salt. The city of Mexico stood in the middle of the saline lake in 19 deg. 13 min. north latitude, yet enjoyed a mild and salubrious climate. It was joined to the main land by three noble causeways. The streets were straight and wide, and intersected by a number of canals, on which fifty thousand canoes of different sizes plied. All the public edifices were built of stone.

The temples were peculiarly spacious and magnificent ; and the ornaments of some of the idols were of inestimable value.

The emperor had several pleasure houses, fitted up in various styles, and with the richest decorations. He had also a house of sorrow, to which he retired on any public calamity, or private loss. He had two queens, the daughters of tributary princes ; and an amazing number of concubines, selected from among the fairest ladies of his dominions. These, when dismissed, were afterwards married to persons of the first quality. To be noticed by the emperor, was a passport to female honour and distinction.

Such was the capital of Mexico, when the Spaniards arrived ; and such were the conduct and habits of the emperor on the throne. He seemed to load Cortez, day after day, with new marks of his generosity ; he anticipated all his wants, and studiously prevented the possibility of breaking with him. Cortez, however, was distrustful, that under this affected politeness, some design was concealed which might involve him and his followers in sudden ruin. But he could find no pretence for violence : and he kept himself on his guard against surprise.

Civilities and presents were still heaped upon him, with a most munificent hand : the Spaniard, being tired of inaction, would have been more delighted to have found an excuse for commencing hostilities. " Think nothing gain'd, while " aught ungain'd remains," seems to have been the motto he adopted. At last the wished-for opportunity presented itself.

In order to secure a communication by sea, to receive the requisite reinforcements, the Span-
ish

nish general had erected a fort, and left a small garrison behind him at Vera Cruz, which has since become the emporium of American and European commerce. He understood, that the Indians in that vicinity had attacked this garrison in his absence, and that a Spaniard was killed in the action. It was even insinuated, that Montezuma himself was privy to the aggression; and had issued orders, that the head of the slain Spaniards should be carried through his provinces, to destroy an absurd, though prevailing belief, that the Europeans were immortal.

On receiving this intelligence, so favourable to his wishes, Cortez waited on the emperor in person, attended by a few of his most faithful and experienced officers. To the charge of treachery, Montezuma pleaded innocent; and Cortez seemed to hear him with pleasure, and to give his declaration the most implicit credit. But at the same time, with an insidious policy, he alleged, that the Spaniards in general would never be convinced of it, unless he returned along with him to their residence, which would remove all jealousy between the two nations. The spirit of Montezuma rose at the idea of this indignity; he felt it in its full force; he hesitated; but, awed by fear, at last he complied.

The success of this interview showed the superiority of European address. A powerful monarch, in the middle of his own palace, and surrounded by his guards, resigned himself a prisoner into the hands of a few strangers, who came to demand him. Cortez was now possessed of an engine which he could direct to every purpose; and which alone could accomplish all his schemes. The Mexicans entertained a respect bordering on religion

religious veneration for their prince. Cortéz, by keeping him in his power, and allowing him to enjoy every external of royalty, save liberty, maintained an easy sovereignty over Mexico, by governing its head. At the same time, by studying the emperor's character, and flattering and indulging all his foibles and passions, he worked himself into his most entire affection. Did the Mexicans, by continued intercourse and familiarity with the Spaniards, show any abatement of their original respect, Montezuma was employed to teach them a more obsequious politeness. Was a tumult excited through the cruelty or avarice of these invaders, Montezuma ascended the battlements of his prison, and harangued his people into submission and forbearance.

This farce was continued so long, that repetition became vapid, and both Spaniards and natives were sick of the degrading servility of the emperor. But it was fortunate for the prince, that, with his character and consequence, he soon lost his life. While he was one day shamefully prostituting his dignity and his talents, in defending the enemies of his country, and justifying their enormities; a stone from an unknown hand struck him on the temple, which in a short time occasioned his death.

The Mexicans liberated from the mock authority of a sovereign, who was compelled to cooperate with his enemies, against the interests of his country, elect a new prince, the famous Guatimozin; who from the beginning displayed an implacable animosity against the Spanish name. Under his conduct, the miserable Mexicans rushed into battle, against those men whom they had once considered as divinities. Various conflicts ensued;

ensued; and numerous were the turns of fortune that both sides experienced. But by the dexterous management of Cortez, it was found impossible to deprive the Spaniards of the footing they had gained in Mexico. The grandees of this country had agreed to pay the crown of Spain the immense sum of six hundred thousand marks of pure gold by way of tribute, exclusive of an amazing quantity of precious stones. The fifth part of this distributed among the soldiers, by gratifying their avarice, stimulated their courage; and made them disregard dangers, when such rewards awaited their exertions.

Numerous, however, were the efforts which the Mexicans made to recover their independence. Unfortunately they did not act in concert; nor was their policy equal to their power. Their valour and their numbers, even their despair, gave way before what they emphatically named the Spanish thunder.

At last Guatimozin and the empress were taken prisoners; and to spare the effusion of his subjects blood, he requested them to submit to the Spanish general. The voice of the emperor allayed the storm of war, and a temporary peace ensued. This was the prince whose fortitude will be for ever memorable. When he lay stretched on burning coals, by order of one of the receivers of the king of Spain's exchequer, who inflicted the torture to force him to discover into what part of the lake he had thrown his treasures, said to his high priest, condemned to the same dreadful punishment, and who loudly expressed his sense of excruciating pain, "Do you imagine that I lie on a bed of roses?" The high priest kept silence; and died in an act of dutiful obedience to his sovereign.

Guatimozi

Guatimozin himself was saved from this fate ; but Cortez finding one conspiracy succeed another, and the natural love of liberty and independence to be still strong in the breasts of the Mexicans, at last hanged the emperor and two other Indian princes, who were said to be his accomplices in a plot against the Spaniards. Thus Mexico ceased to be an empire, and together with Castile d'Or, Darien, and other provinces, submitted to the arms of Spain. The inhabitants, in general, were either exterminated, or retired to the mountains.

Cortez, finding himself established, began to rebuild the city of Mexico, which had been almost demolished by repeated attack and defence. But all his conquests and all his success could not secure him in peace. When the Indians ceased to plot for his destruction, his own countrymen entered into conspiracies against him. He had enemies too, who endeavoured to prejudice him with his sovereign Charles V. To invalidate the effects of injurious representations against him, he visited Europe in 1528, when he was graciously received by his prince, had several towns and villages settled upon him, and obtained the title of Marquis of Guaxaca.

Next year he returned to Mexico ; but afterwards being embroiled with the viceroy of that province, he made a second voyage to Spain, and died in a village near Seville on the 2d of December 1554, in the sixty-third year of his age. By his own direction, his corpse was carried to New Spain. His fame for courage and policy cannot be tarnished : farther we disdain to bestow our praise.

BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF THE
CONQUEST OF PERU,
BY
FRANCIS PIZARRO.

VASQUEZ NUNEZ DE BALBOA, part of whose adventures have already been recorded, having established himself in the government of Santa Maria, immediately applied himself to make such use of the power he had obtained, as might secure him a continuance of it. And he wisely judged, that nothing would more effectually preserve his elevation, than the accumulation of gold, and the extent of his discoveries for the benefit of Spain.

With these views, he exerted himself to the utmost to discharge the duty of a prudent governor, and to gain an ascendancy over the natives by a humane regard to their welfare; though he took care to ease them of their gold. But what is parted with willingly, cannot be considered as lost. He also fitted out several expeditions on discoveries in the South Sea, and in one of them received the first intimation of the extensive empire of Peru. Having taken possession of Castile d'Oro, in the name of their Catholic Majesties, he now thought that he had done enough to obliterate all his former irregularities, and there-

fore dispatched an agent to Spain with the king's money, and an account of his proceedings.

Unfortunately he had been superseded before an opportunity presented itself of clearing up his conduct, and displaying his services. Pedrarias d'Avila, one of the most sanguinary monsters that ever disgraced human nature, had been appointed governor of Golden Castile, and arrived at Santa Maria with a powerful fleet in July 1514. Nunez yielded him all imaginary respect; and though ambition was his favourite vice, resigned his authority without a murmur. This ill-requited officer afterwards found means to obtain a clearing of his character, and remuneration for his services, in the appointment of lord lieutenant of the countries on the South Seas. But Pedrarias, jealous of his worth and envious of his success, had him tried on the most frivolous charges; and he suffered death as a traitor, for no other crime but for serving his prince with a zeal and fidelity that reflected shame on his enemy.

Such was the fate of Vasquez Nunez de Balboa in the forty-second year of his age. He had built the town called Panama with incredible labour; he had extended the discoveries on the coast so far, that Peru was in prospect; and though fortune did not allow him to reap the laurels of the conquest, he cannot be denied the reputation of pointing out the way.

This introduction seemed necessary to connect the history of important discoveries. Whether it happened, that Spain, being engaged in a multiplicity of other concerns, did not find leisure to attend to new and distant discoveries, or that the accounts hitherto received of Peru were imperfect
or

or not credited, certain it is, that after different expeditions projected by Pedrarias had failed, this extensive country, more important than Mexico itself, was reduced by the endeavours, and at the expence of three private persons.

The first, and the life and soul of the enterprise was Francis Pizarro, a native of Truxillo, in the province of Estremadura in Spain. Some of his country writers say he was a nobleman by birth, while others maintain that he was an illegitimate son of an officer at Truxillo, who suffered him to be exposed as a foundling. His reputed father, however, being discovered, he was obliged to maintain him; but he gave him no kind of education; when the conqueror of a mighty empire, he could neither read nor write! His younger days were spent in feeding hogs; but at length he ran away from his charge, and entering on board a ship bound for the West Indies, distinguished himself both in Hispaniola and Cuba for a bold and enterprising genius. He afterwards served under Nunez de Balboa, and having acquired a handsome fortune, settled in Panama as soon as it was built. Here he seemed disposed to end his days in the enjoyment of peace, till the thirst of gold stimulated him to make overtures to Pedrarias, the governor, for a commission to prosecute discoveries in the South Sea; which having obtained, with a confirmation from the court of Spain, he took in as associates Diego de Almagro and Ferdinando de Luques. The former was of such an obscure origin, that though he was named from the place of his birth, no historian has been able to trace his father: the latter was a priest, and a man of large fortune.

This triumvirate, which eternized the infamy of their names, were at first the butt of ridicule to the sober and reflecting part of their countrymen. Their project was treated as wild and visionary; and that it would infallibly end in the ruin of the undertakers, was the common prediction. But without regarding the opinion of the world, they solemnly pledged themselves to each other, that no dangers or disasters should divert them from their enterprize; and that they should equally participate in the advantages to be acquired. To strengthen their resolution, and to bind them still more closely to each other, they called in the aid of religion. Having attended high mass, which was celebrated by de Luques, they received the sacrament from his hands. He broke the consecrated wafer into three pieces; took the first himself, and gave the others to his companions, as a token that they would pursue their present design with no less eagerness than if their eternal happiness depended on the event.

It was about the middle of November 1524, that Pizarro set out for the conquest of Peru, with two hundred and fifty foot, sixty horse, and twelve small pieces of cannon, drawn by slaves from the conquered nations. When we reflect, that the Peruvians were impressed with the same prejudices with the Mexicans in favour of the Spanish nation, and besides were of a constitution more effeminate and unwarlike, it need not be considered so extraordinary, after what has been related of the conquest of Mexico, that Pizarro should be able, with this inconsiderable force, to make a deep and indelible impression on the Peruvian empire. Particular circumstances also conspired to favour his undertaking,

which

which, as they tend to develope something of the history, religion, and state of the human mind in this new world, it may not be improper to state.

The original founder of the Peruvian empire was Mango Capac, a man who, gifted with powers beyond the level of his kind, and calm and dispassionate himself, by nicely discriminating the passions of his fellow creatures, was able to work upon them with effect, and turn them to his own profit and glory. He observed that the people of Peru were naturally addicted to superstition; and that they had a peculiar veneration for the orb of day. He pretended therefore to be descended from that glorious luminary, whose worship he was sent to establish, and whose authority he was entitled to exercise. By this romantic fiction, which was extremely well adapted to the prejudices of those on whom he intended to impose, he easily duped a credulous people; and by this artifice alone, brought a considerable extent of territory under his jurisdiction. The foundation of his empire being thus laid on superstition, he extended his dominions still farther by arms. But, to his honour be it recorded that, whether he employed fraud or force, it was with a view of promoting happiness, and fixing its influence. He united and civilized the roving and barbarous tribes; he bent them to laws, and inured them to arms; he softened them by the institution of a benevolent religion; and in proportion as he exalted their spirit by patriotism, he subdued their hearts by the effect of principle. In no part of America had agriculture and the arts made such remarkable progress; or men advanced so far in the refinements that embellish life.

A race of princes succeeded Mango, distinguished by the title of Yncas, and revered by their subjects as the undoubted descendants of their great God, the sun. The twelfth of these now filled the throne, who was named Atabalipa. His father Guaiana Capac had extended his hereditary dominions by the addition of the province of Quito, which now constitutes a part of Spanish Peru. To secure himself in the possession of this conquest, he had married the daughter of the legitimate prince of that country; and of this marriage was sprung the reigning emperor. His elder brother, Huescar, by a different mother, had claimed the succession to the whole of his paternal dominions, not excepting Quito, which devolved on Atabalipa by a double connection. A civil war had been kindled on this account; which, after various turns of fortune, and greatly weakening the empire, terminated in favour of the younger brother; who now detained Huescar a prisoner in the tower of Cusco, the capital of the Peruvian empire.

Thus the seeds of anarchy were engendered; and the cause of dissolution had begun to operate, before the arrival of Pizarro. In this feeble and disjointed state of the empire, the ominous predictions of religion joined their force to human calamities. Prophecies were recorded, and dreams were recollected, which foretold the subjugation of the empire by persons unknown, whose description was supposed to correspond with that of the Spaniards. In particular, they had an old tradition, which had been universally received, that the elder son of one of their yncas, in ancient days, had seen a strange kind of phantom, who called himself Virachoca, or offspring of the sun.

His

His dress and appearance were entirely different from those of the Peruvians; his beard was long, his garments flowed down to his feet, and in his hand he held an animal absolutely unknown to the young prince. This fable was so firmly believed, and so deeply rooted in the minds of the Peruvians, that they no sooner saw a Spaniard with a beard, his legs covered, and holding his horse by the bridle, than they exclaimed, "See there is the Ynca Virachoca," or the son of the sun.

Under such impressions Atabalipa, instead of opposing the Spaniards, set himself to procure their favour. "These people," said the emperor, "are messengers of the gods; let us be seen to do nothing to offend them; but on the contrary, use our utmost endeavours to gain them by civilities." Pizarro, however, whose temper partook of the meanness of his education, had no conception of gentle dealings with a people he falsely deemed barbarians; but who in fact, though less expert in the cruel arts of human destruction, were more civilized than himself. In conformity, therefore, to his detestable way of thinking, while he was engaged in a conference with Atabalipa, his men, as previously instructed, furiously attacked the guards of that prince without provocation, and having butchered five thousand of them as they were pressing forward to protect the sacred person of their monarch, seized Atabalipa himself, whom they carried off to the Spanish quarters.

Pizarro having thus got possession of the emperor without resistance, might be already said to be master of Peru; for the inhabitants of this country were as strongly attached to their sovereign

reign, as were the Mexicans. They soon began to treat with the Spaniards about his ransom; and on this melancholy occasion, the ancient ornaments of royalty, amassed by a long line of magnificent kings, the hallowed treasures of the most solemn temples were produced to liberate him, who was regarded as the life of the kingdom, and the support of religion.

While Pizarro was engaged in this negotiation, by which he hoped to accumulate an immense quantity of gold, without at last delivering up the emperor, the arrival of his associate Almagro threw his affairs into some embarrassment. The external show of amity between these men was solely founded on the principle of avarice, and a bold enterprising spirit, to which nothing appeared too difficult or dangerous, that could gratify their predominant passion. When their interests, therefore, happened to clash, it was not probable that any measures could be kept between them. Pizarro arrogated to himself the most considerable share of the treasure for the emperor's ransom, because he was the chief instrument in acquiring it. On the contrary, Almagro insisted on an equal division; and at last, lest the common cause should suffer by their discord, this disposition was acceded to.

The ransom was prepared without delay, a sum far exceeding their conception, yet incapable of satiating their avarice. It is said to have exceeded a million and a half sterling, which, considering the value of money at this time, was prodigious. After deducting the fifth for the King of Spain, and the shares of the chief commanders and officers, each private soldier received above two thousand pounds sterling. With
such

such a fortune it was not to be expected, that a mercenary army would willingly submit to the rigours of military discipline. No sooner were they in possession of such a treasure, than they began to insist on being disbanded, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labours in quiet. Pizarro had policy enough to comply with this demand, sensible that the desire of increasing their present acquisitions would still detain a considerable number in his army; and that those who retired with such magnificent fortunes, would induce new adventurers to pursue the same steps for the acquirement of gold. These sagacious reflections were abundantly verified. It was impossible to send out more proper recruiting officers than those who had themselves reaped such amazing profits by the field: new adventurers constantly arrived; and his armies were constantly supplied with the necessary reinforcements.

The immense ransom which had been brought forward for the redemption of Atabalipa, served only as a reason to avarice for detaining him longer in confinement, till they could ascertain if he had not another treasure to gratify their cupidity. But whether they believed, that the friends of the emperor had no more to give, or were unwilling to employ the troops in guarding a prince who had no more to bestow; or that Pizarro had conceived an aversion against the Peruvian emperor, which some circumstances give us reason to suppose; certain it is, that by his command this ill-fated prince was put to death. To justify this cruel proceeding, a suit was instituted against him, on pretence that he was an idolater, that he kept a number of concubines,
and

and other charges of similar impertinence. The only equitable accusation brought against him was, that he had dispatched his brother Huescar; and even this was considerably palliated, by the circumstance of its being well known, that this prince had been plotting against the emperor, in order to place himself on the throne. But when it is considered that, according to the law of nations, no foreign power ought to interfere in the domestic arrangements of an independent people, this pretence will fall to the ground. To the eternal infamy of the Spaniards, the unhappy Atabalipa having been sentenced to be burned, had his punishment commuted to strangling, on condition of his turning Christian. He received the rite of baptism, which it was impossible he could understand, in the evening, and next morning was no more. Upon the death of the ynca, a number of candidates started to fill the vacant throne. The principal nobility sanctioned the pretensions of the full brother of Huescar. Pizarro set up a son of Atabalipa; and two of the Peruvian generals endeavoured to establish themselves by the assistance of the army. These distractions, as might have been supposed, would have facilitated the conquests of Spain, and have been fatal to the interests of Peru. At the present period, however, they had not the effect that might have been expected. The candidates fought against each other with animosity, and inured their partizans to arms. A quiet inoffensive people is unaccustomed to blood; yet such is the preference of national spirit, from whatever cause excited, to a total lethargy, that in the course of these intestine commotions, the inhabitants of Peru assumed some courage against the Spaniards;

Spaniards; whom they justly considered as the primary cause of all their calamities.

The losses which the Europeans experienced in these contests were less important in themselves than in their ultimate consequences. They lessened that opinion of invincibility which had been attached to their arms; and which they had been so anxious to keep up and disseminate among the inhabitants of the new world. This consideration induced Pizarro to conclude a truce; and he employed the interval in laying the foundation of the famous city of Lima, and providing for the permanent establishment of the Spaniards in this country.

Embracing the first favourable opportunity of renewing the war, the Spaniards again took the field; and after surmounting many difficulties and dangers, Pizarro at last made himself master of Cusco, the capital of the empire. This happened in October 1532. On entering the city, from which the inhabitants had fled, and carried what was most valuable with them, he still found treasures immense. As it was the custom of the country to bury with their grandees the best part of their riches, the conqueror found the sepulchres; and found them as rich as the habitations of the living. The plunder of Cusco has been computed to equal the sum formerly advanced for the ransom of Atabalipa. Pizarro now invited the inhabitants to return to their dwellings, fearful lest by driving them to desperation, the whole empire might unite against him. The Indians accepted the proposal, and even the yncas made some overtures of accommodation.

While success had so far attended the Spaniards, new grants and levies arrived from the mother

ther country. Pizarro obtained two hundred leagues along the sea-coast to the southward of what had been originally granted him; and Almagro two hundred leagues to the southward of Pizarro's government. This division occasioned a warm dispute between the two chiefs, each reckoning Cusco within the limits of his district. But the dexterity of Pizarro effected a reconciliation. He persuaded his rival, that the country which really belonged to him lay to the southward of Cusco; that it was no way inferior in riches and fertility, and might be as easily conquered as Peru. To enforce this argument, he offered him his assistance in the expedition, the success of which he deemed indisputable.

Almagro, that he might have the honour of subduing a kingdom for himself, listened to the advice; and having united as many of Pizarro's soldiers to his own, as he judged necessary, penetrated with great danger and difficulty into Chili. But danger and difficulty vanish at the prospect of gold. He passed mountains of immense height, and covered with eternal snow, with the loss of many of his men, and the greatest part of his baggage. These mountains were the Cordilleras. At length he arrived in Copayapu, subject to the ynca of Peru; and in a short time reduced a considerable part of the circumjacent country.

The Peruvians had now gained policy from their intercourse with the Spaniards, and some knowledge of the art of war. This division of the troops of the enemy did not escape their notice. They made an effort to regain their capital, in which, while Pizarro was indisposed and Almagro at a distance, they were well nigh successful.

cessful. The latter, however, having received intelligence of the siege of Cusco, immediately abandoned his views of distant conquest, and returned to secure the grand object of their former labours. He soon raised the siege of Cusco, with an infinite slaughter of the assailants; but having now the merit of obtaining possession of the city, he was unwilling to relinquish it to Pizarro, who was approaching with an army, and knew of no other enemy but the Peruvians.

This bone of contention occasioned a long and bloody struggle between the chiefs and their respective parties, in which the turns of fortune were various, and the resentment fierce on both sides; because the fate of the vanquished was certain destruction. Such at last was the fate of Almagro, who in an advanced age, fell a victim to the security of a rival, in whose dangers and triumphs he had long participated; and with whom, from the beginning of the enterprise, he had been closely connected. During the course of this civil war, many Peruvians served in the Spanish armies, and learned from the practice of Christians to butcher one another with success.

That passive and blinded nation, however, at last opened their eyes, and took a very remarkable resolution. They saw the ferocity of the Europeans, their implacable resentment, their insatiable avarice; and they conjectured, that the excercise of those passions would never suffer the contests to subside. "Let us retire," said they "from among them, let us fly to our mountains; they will speedily destroy one another, and then we may return in peace to our former habitations." This resolution was instantly put in practice. The Peruvians dispersed, and left the

Spaniards in their capital. Had the force of the combatants been exactly equal, this singular policy of the natives might have been attended with the expected success. But the victory of Pizarro put an end to Almagro's life and to the hopes of the Peruvians.

Pizarro now freed from a rival, and master of the richest empire in the world, was still spurred on by ambition to undertake new enterprises. The southern countries into which he had sometime before dispatched Almagro, presented the richest field for discovery and conquest. He therefore proceeded in the track of Almagro into Chili, and reduced another part of that country. Orellana, one of his captains passed the Andes, and sailed down to the mouth of the river of Amazons. On the banks of this immense navigation, some of the women having attended their husbands into battle, as was not unusual in America, were found among the slain in armour. This gave rise to the fiction of a warlike race of females, resembling the ancient Amazons. The country through which Orellana passed was rich and delightful in the fruits of the earth; but as it was chiefly champaign, and therefore not plentiful in minerals, the Spaniards disregarded it; and have never yet made any settlements here.

Pizarro, fortunate in most of his undertakings, without a superior to control or a rival to oppose him, now gave a loose to the natural ferocity of his temper; and behaved with unfeeling cruelty to all who had not concurred in his designs, and implicitly obeyed his commands. This brutal conduct raised a conspiracy against him. His enemies were driven to desperation: they saw no end of their miseries, but by dispatching Pizarro
.. or

or themselves. They resolved on the former; and assassinated the tyrant in his own palace, in the city of Lima, which he had founded. This blow was struck on the 26th of June 1541. Pizarro when he fell was sixty-five years old. He had never been married, and though he cohabited with the daughters and sisters of the yncas, as well as with others, it is not known that he left any children behind him. His ignorance rendered him contemptible, his cruelty detestable, and his fate was unlamented.

The partizans of old Almagro now declared his son of the same name viceroy; but the greatest part of the nation, though not averse to the conspiracy which took off Pizarro, refused to concur in this dertermination. They waited the orders of the Emperor Charles V. then King of Spain, who sent over Vaca di Castro, a man of the strictest probity, to be their governor. By him the young Almagro was defeated; and being tried and condemned, lost his life, together with the chief supporters of his cause. De Castro, by his wisdom and integrity, was admirably qualified to heal the wounds of the colony; and to place every thing on the most advantageous footing, both for it and for the mother country. By his prudent conduct, the mines of La Plata and Potosi, which had hitherto supplied the private plunderer, were converted into objects of public utility to the court of Spain. The parties, which had agitated the province from the very beginning, were either crushed or silenced; and tranquillity was again restored to Peru.

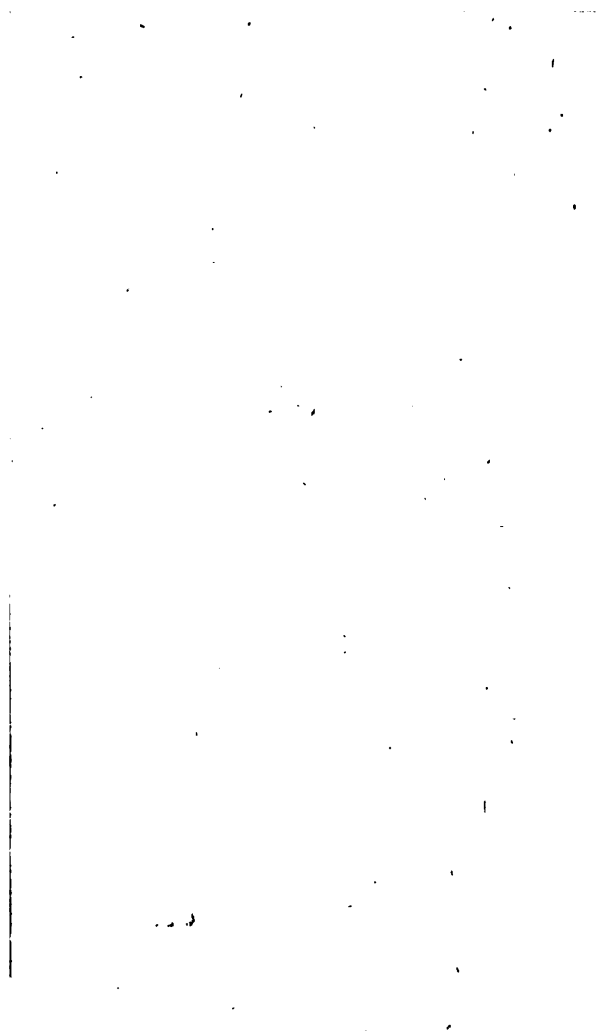
It appears, however, that de Castro, trusting, perhaps, too much to a conscious integrity, had neglected the usual precautions of

guilt, in securing the favour of the ministry by bribes or promises. By their advice, a council was sent out to controul Castro; and the colony was again unsettled. The parties just composed, began to rage anew; and Gonzalo, the brother of the famous Pizarro, set himself at the head of his brother's partizans; with whom many new malecontents had joined interests. It was no longer a private dispute between governors, about the bounds of their jurisdiction. Gonzalo Pizarro paid no more than a nominal submission to the king. He daily accumulated strength and resources; and even went so far, as to decapitate a governor who had been sent to curb him. He attached to his interest the admiral of the Spanish fleet in the South Seas; by whose means he proposed to prevent the landing of troops from Spain; and in the plenitude of his presumption, meditated to unite the inhabitants of Mexico in his revolt.

In this wretched situation stood affairs, when the Spanish court, sensible of its mistake in sending men into America from the influence of minions and the solicitations of cabals, without any regard to character and virtue, dispatched with unlimited authority Peter de la Gasca, a man of equal integrity with Castro, but superior in the arts of address. These, however, were not used to cloak vice or mask hypocrisy: a natural love of justice, a greatness of soul, and a disinterested spirit, were inherent qualities in both; but Gasca set off these amiable qualities to advantage by the soft polish of conciliating manners.

All those who had not joined in Pizarro's revolt, began to flock under his standard; and
many

many of Pizarro's partizans, charmed with the behaviour of Gasca, forsook their old connections. The admiral was gained over by insinuation to return to his duty and allegiance; and Pizarro himself was offered a full indemnity on the same terms. But so intoxicating are the ideas of royalty, that Pizarro chose rather to hazard irretrievable ruin than submit to any officer of Spain. With those of his partizans, who still remained faithful to his cause, he determined to risk a battle. He was vanquished and taken prisoner; and his execution speedily followed. Thus the brother of him who had added Peru to the dominions of Spain, fell a necessary sacrifice for the security of the acquisition.



GENERAL CHARACTER

AND

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ABORIGINAL AMERICANS.*

THE successful discoveries, and valuable acquisitions of the Spaniards on the rich continent of South America, soon excited the attention of other European nations to pursue similar measures by similar means; but the detail of their different expeditions, and of the revolutions that have taken place, neither falls within our plan, nor would it be generally interesting. It is sufficiently known, that flourishing colonies and independent states now exist, which were planted along that very extensive coast, reaching from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence in North America, to Rio de la Plata in the South, some of which spread far within land; besides the islands in the gulph of Mexico and elsewhere. A description of these falls within the province of the geographer alone; but before we proceed in our intended course, it may not be amiss to throw together the general

* Chiefly taken from Lafitau, Major Rogers's account of North America, Colonel Bouquet's expedition against the Ohio Indians, Guthrie's Geography, &c. &c.

observation

observations of various writers on the original inhabitants of this vast continent; to preserve the traces of character which time may obliterate, or an intercourse with Europeans efface. Such a disquisition will be no less gratifying to him who reads for pleasure, than to him who reads for profit. It will assist the speculations of the philosopher, and amuse the leisure of the busy.

When the veil was withdrawn that hid one half of the world from the other, the Europeans found the natives of the new-discovered regions immersed in what they reckoned barbarism; but which, however, ought rather to be characterised as a state of honest independence and noble simplicity. If we except the inhabitants of the two potent empires of Mexico and Peru, who, as we have seen, were comparatively refined, the natives of America in general were unacquainted with every European art. Even agriculture itself, one of the first and by far the most useful art, was little known, or little cultivated. The principle dependence for supplying the wants of animal life, was on hunting the wild beasts which the mountains and forests abundantly supplied. This exercise, which is here a serious and important study, gives a strength to the frame and gility to the limbs, unparalleled among other nations. To the same cause, perhaps, it is owing, that in climates not too warm, their bodies are uncommonly straight, and well proportioned. They are muscular and vigorous, with flattish heads, which is the effect of art; their features are regular; but their modes of life give a fierceness to their aspects. Their hair is long, black, and of a strong texture. The colour of the skin is a reddish brown: this is the tint most admired among

among them, and is therefore heightened by the use of bear's grease and paint.

The character of these people is formed on, and influenced by their circumstances and way of living. Constantly occupied in procuring the means of a precarious subsistence by hunting; and frequently at the same time engaged in war with their neighbours, their temper is little suited to gaiety, nor subject to an exhilaration of spirits. They are therefore generally grave to sadness: they possess none of that giddy vivacity, that high flow of soul which are peculiar to some nations in other parts of the world, and they despise them. Their deportment is regular, modest, and respectful to those with whom they associate. Unacquainted with the pleasing arts of conversation, of saying trifles agreeably, or complimenting to be complimented again; they seldom speak but when they have something important to observe. All their actions, words, and even looks, are calculated to answer some purpose, and convey some meaning. This is natural to men who are always engaged in laborious pursuits, and ignorant of elegant amusements. Their subsistence wholly depends on their own toil and exertions: their lives, their liberty, all that is dear may be lost by a momentary inattention to the views and designs of their enemies. Having no objects to attach them to one place more than another, they rove wherever the necessities of life are to be found in the greatest abundance. Cities and towns, the result of labour and application to arts, they have none. For this reason, the various tribes or nations are broken into small societies, compared with civilized countries, in which, mutual wants and a
reciproca

reciprocal interchange of benefits have congregated numerous individuals into one political band. These small tribes are thinly dispersed; they are insulated by a desert frontier, which it is an aggression to pass; and hid in the bosom of everlasting and almost impenetrable forests.

A certain species of government is established in every particular society, which with little variation prevails over the greatest part of this continent. Their manners and modes of life being nearly similar, so are their civil institutions also. Devoid of arts, riches, or luxury, the instruments of subjection in polished society, and the incentives to obtain rule, an American has no means of rendering himself considerable among his countrymen, but by a superiority in personal qualities, or mental endowments.

But as nature has not been very lavish in her distinctions, and the means of education are the same to all, there is a great degree of equality among them, and a desire to maintain it. Hence liberty is the prevailing passion, to which all others are subservient; and their government, influenced by this sentiment; is as effectually secured as by the wisest political regulations. They are far, however, from despising an authority, which they consider as legitimate, or from disclaiming a subjection to its decrees. The voice of wisdom is heard with regard; the experience of the aged is respected by the young; and they are ready to enlist under the banners of the chief whose prowess has entitled him to distinction, whose military address has inspired them with confidence.

In every tribe, therefore, the power of a single chief, or of the collective body of the elders prevails;

prevails; and as the government inclines more to the one or the other, it may be regarded as monarchical or aristocratical; but founded on talents alone. Where war is the frequent pest, the power of the chief is predominant, because the necessity of having a leader was the origin of his superiority; and the continual exigencies of the state will continue to support and enhance the right to command. The power of the chieftain, however, is rather kept up by persuasive arts, than coercive restraints: he is revered as a father rather than dreaded as a monarch. He maintains no guards, he commands no prisons, he appoints no officers of justice; and one act of unjust violence or arbitrary sway would hurl him from his rank and his power.

In the other form of government, the power of the elders is equally limited and exercised for similar ends. In some tribes, indeed, there is a kind of hereditary aristocracy, which having gained influence by time, has proportionable effects. But this source of power, so useful in nations that are civilized, by which we annex to the descendant the merit of the ancestor, is too refined an idea to be very common among the natives of America. In most societies, therefore, age alone is sufficient to create respect, influence, and authority. It is age which teaches experience, and experience is the only source of knowledge, among a people untutored in art which anticipates years.

Business is here transacted with a simplicity which realizes the descriptions of early ages. The heads of families assemble on a spot appointed for the purpose: and here those of the nation who are most distinguished for eloquence or wis-

do

dom, have an opportunity of displaying their talents in the public discussion. The Indian orator, flowery, figurative, strong, but unrefined in his expression, accompanies his words with corresponding gestures. When the business is dispatched, they appoint a feast on the occasion, and almost the whole nation partakes of what stores they possess. Every feast is enlivened with a song, in which the real or fabulous exploits of their heroes are recorded. They have dances too, partaking of the military character, and these are the constant accompaniment of a feast. Sometimes, in their wide excursions after prey, two different nations meet. If no animosity subsists between them, they behave to each other in the most friendly and courteous style. But if they happen to be in a state of hostility, which is too often the case; or if there has been no previous intercourse between them, for all who are not friends are deemed enemies, they display the most savage fury in instant fight.

War and hunting are the only occupations of the men. As to every domestic concern, even agriculture, where it is attended to, falls to the province of the women. Among a people where there is so little property, it might be supposed wars would be rare. This unfortunately is not the case. A very simple cause will sometimes give rise to hostilities. An accidental rencounter or interference, a desire to revenge some lost friend, or to make prisoners to assist in hunting, is a sufficient excuse for proceeding to extremities. Their wars are either undertaken by private adventurers, or at the instance of the whole community. In the latter case, all the youths, who are disposed to go to battle, for no one is
compelled

compelled, give the chief a bit of wood, as a pledge that they will stand by him. Nothing is undertaken, or transacted without many forms and ceremonies. These are deemed sacred and essential, and are regarded as binding when once passed.

The destined leader fasts for several days, during which he is sequestered from company, and indulges in the visionary belief of dreams, which the heated imagination is apt to produce correspondent to the wish excited. A variety of other superstitions are practised. One of the most terrible we shall particularize : It is setting the war-kettle on the fire, as a symbol of the destruction that awaits their foes. Among some nations it is certain that this symbol had a precise meaning. They actually devoured those whom they took prisoners; and now, when this inhuman practice is by no means very frequent, they preserve the emblem to rouse their indignant passions. Then they dispatch a porcelain, or large shell, to their allies, inviting them to unite and drink the blood of their enemies. The same love, the same resentment animate friends : no cold medium is known. Friendship and enmity are here carried to the highest pitch. This is what may naturally be expected from their peculiar circumstances : the more that principle, which is the spring of social affections, is restrained, the more violently it operates. The Americans, living in small societies, seeing few objects, and knowing few persons, become enthusiastically attached to those objects and persons, and are miserable when they feel a deprivation. Too confined in their ideas, their breasts are incapable of expanding to general benevolence; even

ordinary humanity is thought a weakness. But while this renders them cruel and savage to their enemies, it adds a new force to their partial friendships or their particular confederates. Without carrying this reflection along in the mind, it would be impossible to account for many of their actions.

Having finished the previous ceremonies of war, they black their faces with charcoal, intermixed with streaks of red, which gives them a most ferocious and horrid appearance. They then exchange their cloaths with their friends; and dispose of whatever articles they value most among the women, who accompany them to a distance, to receive those pledges of love, should their separation be eternal.

War being commenced, the grand qualities are vigilance to prevent surprise, and attention to give one: and in these respects the Indians are superior to all other nations. Accustomed to a wandering life, their perceptions sharpened by keen necessity, and in every respect following nature, their external senses have acquired a degree of acuteness which is almost incredible. They can trace out their enemies at an immense distance by the smell of their fires, and by the tracks of their feet; imperceptible to an European eye; but which they can count and distinguish with the utmost precision. They can even discriminate the different nations with which they are acquainted, and can determine the exact time when they passed, where no European, with the assistance of glasses, could distinguish a trace. These advantages, however, are of small importance, because their enemies no less possess them. When they go out, therefore, they avoid making use of any thing

thing by which they might hazard a discovery. They refrain from the use of fires; they lie close to the ground by day, and travel only by night; and advancing in files, he who closes the rear, covers with leaves the vestiges that are left. When they halt for refreshment, scouts are sent out to reconnoitre every spot where an enemy can be concealed. In this manner, they enter unawares the territories of their foes; and while the flower of the men are perhaps abroad in hunting, massacre all the women, children, and aged persons, or make prisoners of as many as they can carry off or employ.

But should the enemy be apprized of their design, and advance to the combat in arms, they throw themselves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves; and starting all at once from their ambush, with a tremendous shout, assail their foes. The party attacked returns the same cry. Where trees can be used as a shelter, each retires behind one, till prepared to repeat the blow; and thus does the battle continue till one party is so far weakened, as to be incapable of farther resistance. But should the force on both sides remain nearly the same, the fierce spirits of the savages, inflamed by the loss of their friends, can no longer submit to regular attack or ordinary precautions. They abandon the distant war; they rush on each other with clubs and hatchets, magnifying their own courage, and insulting the foe with the most bitter invectives. Death now appears in a thousand hideous forms. Heedless of any thing but revenge, they trample on the wounded; they insult even the dead; they scalp; they wallow in blood; and even devour the flesh with a mad ferocity. The flame rages

on till resistance dies away. The prisoners are then secured. Unhappy men! the fate of their slaughtered companions was mild to theirs. The conquerors, as they approach their own village, set up a hideous howl, to bewail the friends they have lost: they approach in a melancholy and stern gloom. A messenger precedes them: and the women, with frightful shrieks, come out to mourn their private losses. When they reach their abodes, the chief in a low tone relates to the elders a circumstantial account of the expedition, with all its turns. The orator then proclaims this intelligence to the people; and as he recounts the names of those who have fallen, the cries of the females increase. The men too join in the expression of sorrow, according as each is connected with the deceased by the ties of blood or friendship. The last ceremony is the proclamation of victory. Each individual then endeavours to forget his private misfortunes, and joins to celebrate the triumphs of his tribe. The shrieks are suspended, the tears wiped away; and, by a wonderful transition, they pass from the bitterness of grief to the extravagance of exultation. But the treatment of the prisoners yet remains to be detailed; it is that which chiefly characterizes the savages; it is that which shocks the civilized, and shews the advantages of refinement.

It has been already observed, that among the Indians, general philanthropy is a principle unfelt. Intense in their affections for their friends, they appear insensible that their enemies can be too inhumanly tormented. The feelings of nature are lost in their rage; and from the individual

dual who has injured, the same resentment is extended to all his tribe.

The prisoners, actuated by the same principles, know what awaits them, and prepare for the event. The person who has taken the captive attends him to the cottage; when, according to the distribution made by the elders, he is to be delivered up to supply the loss of a member of their community. If those who receive him think his services will be useful to them, he is immediately adopted into the family, and becomes one of its number in every respect. But if they have no occasion to augment their society, or if resentment for the loss of their friends stimulates them to seek revenge on all who were accessory to it, the sentence is inevitable death.

In this case, all who have received the same severe doom are collected; and the whole nation is assembled, as if to celebrate some distinguished festival. A scaffold is erected, where the prisoners, being tied to the stake, commence the death song, and prepare for their approaching fate with undaunted mind. Their ungenerous and savage enemies, on the other hand, are determined to put their courage to the proof, by the most exquisite tortures. They begin the work of death at the extremities of the body, and gradually approach the vitals. One plucks out the nails of the captive by a slow process, another tears off the flesh of a finger with his teeth, and a third thrusts the lacerated member into the bowl of a red-hot pipe, which he smokes like tobacco. They then pound the toes and fingers to pieces between stones; they strip the flesh with their teeth, and trace circles about the joints, and gather in the muscular parts, which

they immediately fear with red-hot irons, cutting, burning, and pinching alternately. The flesh, thus mangled and roasted, is sometimes devoured with greediness, morsel by morsel, while the blood serves to smear their faces, and to give the tormentors a look as infernal as their hearts.

Having torn off the flesh, they twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them; while others are employed in stretching the limbs every way that ingenuity can devise, to increase the torment. This process continues for five or six hours together; and such is the strength and fortitude of savages, that it has sometimes been extended to days.

To protract the work of death, they sometimes unbind the captive, to give a respite to their fury, and to invent new inflictions. He is again fastened to the stake, and again they renew their cruelty. Even amid the temporary respite they sometimes give him, it has been known that a profound sleep has overtaken the victim, and that the application of fire was necessary to awake him. He is now stuck over with matches of wood, easily kindled, but slow in consuming: they pierce the body in every part with reeds, they pull out the teeth, they scoop out the eyes; and lastly, having mangled the frame in such a manner that it is only one continued wound, having mutilated the face so as to leave nothing human in it, and carried barbarity to its most exalted pitch, they again unbind the wretch. Now blind, faltering, falling, assailed with stones and clubs, and passive of the worst, one of the chiefs, perhaps, wearied of cruelty, rather than satiated with revenge, gives him a coup-de-grace with a dagger or a club. The body is then committed

mitted to the kettle, and a barbarous feast is the winding up of this dismal tragedy.

In most countries the female character is distinguished for a superior degree of softness and humanity; here the women, if possible, outdo the men in this scene of horror, while the principal persons of the country form a circle round the stake, and smoke on without emotion. But what will most surprise is, that the sufferer himself, in the intervals of his torments, smokes too, and converses with indifference. Indeed, seldom does a groan escape him, amidst the most aggravated sufferings. He endures them all with a fortitude and a constancy more than human. He possesses his mind unmoved; not a distortion of face betrays the anguish he endures. He recounts his exploits; he boasts what cruelties he has inflicted on their countrymen, and menaces them with the revenge that will attend his death. Though exasperated to madness by his reproaches, he continues his insults, upbraids them with their ignorance in the science of tormenting; and points out more efficacious means. Even the women possess the same degree of resolution and torture: to suffer without emotion is the pride, the glory of an Indian. Such is the force of inbred habits, and a ferocious thirst of fame.

We have dwelt the larger on these circumstances of cruelty, because they illustrate a position we wish to enforce. Degrading as such recitals are to human nature, they should not be heard in vain. Such an inconceivable degree of barbarity, passions carried to such a pitch, shew what man is without the refinements of society; and prove the value of a conduct influenced by

the dictates of Christianity. This amiable, this heavenly religion teaches compassion to our very enemies, which is neither recommended or practised in other institutions. But though the impressions of a pure religion will be always most deeply felt, and therefore the most permanent, we are not a little indebted to the light of literature, to the intercourse of commerce, and to the arts of civilization, for that pre-eminence over savage life which it is our felicity to possess. By those advantages, combined with revelation, the sting is taken from our natural vices, and the ferocity of our tempers is subdued.

The history of human nature does not furnish a stronger contrast than this cruelty of the savages towards those with whom they are at war, and the warmth of their affection to their friends; and these, in an extended sense, consist of all those who form the same society, or are joined in alliance with it. Their indistinct notions of private property may partially account for this; but more is to be ascribed to the force of genuine attachment. It is not only with their property that they are ready to serve their friends; their lives, their honour, are devoted to the same end; their houses, their provisions, even their young women, are freely conferred on their guests. Has a friend been unsuccessful in hunting? has his harvest failed? has his hut been destroyed by tempest or fire? He feels no other effect of his calamity than as it gives him an opportunity to experience the benevolence and regard of his fellow-citizens.

But to the enemies of his nation, or to his private offender, the American is implacable. He conceals his sentiments, and he broods over revenge, whenever the blow can be struck witherring aim. No length of time is sufficient to allay

allay his resentment; no distance of place to protect the object of his fury. He crosses mountains, he pierces forests, he traverses bogs and deserts; bearing the inclemency of the season, the fatigue of the expedition, and the extremes of hunger and thirst with patient cheerfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, and of executing his horrid revenge. Such are the extremes of friendship and enmity among savages; and all strong but uncultivated minds feel the same general bias.

But what we have hitherto said of the strength of their friendship conveys but a faint idea of the full extent to which they carry this lovely virtue. It is not only the living, but the dead who are the objects of attachment and regard. When any member of the society is cut off, he is lamented by the whole with a thousand demonstrations of genuine sorrow. One of the most remarkable ceremonies used on this melancholy occasion, and which discovers both the intenseness and the continuance of their grief, is what they denominate the feast of souls. This day of awful form is appointed by public order; and no care is neglected to render the celebration magnificently solemn. The neighbouring tribes are invited to join in the solemnity. On this occasion, all who have died since the last commemoration (which is renewed every eight or ten years) are disinterred, and brought to the general rendezvous of corruption.

It is impossible to describe the horror of this scene in more lively terms than those which Lafitau has used. Unquestionably, says he, the opening of these tombs displays one of the most striking scenes that can be conceived; this humbling
portra

portrait of human misery, in so many images of death, wherein she seems to take a pleasure to paint herself in a thousand various shapes of horror, according to the degree in which corruption has prevailed over them, or the manner in which it has attacked them. Some appear dry and withered; others have a sort of parchment on their bones; some look as if they were baked and smoaked, without any appearance of putridity; some are just verging to the point of putrefaction; while others are swarming with worms, and a mass of corruption. I know not which ought to strike us most; the horror of such a shocking sight, or the tender pity and affection of these poor people towards their departed friends. For nothing deserves our admiration more, than that eager zeal and attention with which they discharge this melancholy duty of their respect; gathering up carefully even the minutest bones, handling the carcases, disgusting as they are with every thing loathsome, cleansing them from the worms, and carrying them on their shoulders through tiresome journeys of several days, without sinking under their burden, or the offensiveness of the smell, and without suffering any emotions to intrude, but those of regret for having lost persons so dear to them in life, so lamented in death.

Having brought the remains into their cottages, they prepare a feast in honour of the dead; during which their heroic actions are celebrated, and all the tender intercourses that took place between them and their surviving friends are piously called to mind. Even the strangers, who sometimes attend from very remote tribes, join in the tender condolence; and the natural shrieks
of

of the females prove, that they are penetrated with the sharpest sorrow. The dead are then carried out to be re-interred. A large pit is dug in the ground; and thither, at a certain time, each person, attended by his family and friends, marches in solemn silence, bearing the dust of a near and tender relation. When they are all convened, the dead bodies are deposited in the pit together, with what valuables they most esteemed, and even the presents of strangers; and then the torrent of grief breaks out afresh. After this they descend into the pit; and each supplies himself with a little of the earth, which is preserved with religious care. The bodies, ranged in order, are covered with fresh furs, and over these with bark, on which they heap wood, earth, and stones. Then taking a last adieu, they return to their homes.

We have just observed, that the Indians offer funeral presents to the dead of whatever they value most highly. This universal custom among them, and which is diffeminated over various parts of the world, where there exists no common origin nor even accidental communication, arises from a rude notion of the immortality of the soul. This doctrine is firmly believed among the Americans; and is the basis of all their religion. When the soul is separated from the body, they conceive that it still continues to hover round it, and to require, and take delight in the same things as were formerly beloved. After a certain period, however, they suppose that it forsakes this dreary state, and wings its flight far westward into the land of spirits. They have even made discrimination, in their creed, in the other world: some, particularly eminent

warriors, they imagine possess a high degree of felicity in another life; enjoy a station for hunting and fishing which never fails; and enter into the fruition of every sensual delight without the labour of pursuit. The souls of those, on the contrary, who have acted dastardly or been unfortunate in war, they set down as extremely miserable.

Thus the study of war, which forms the principal ingredient in their character, deeply tinctures their religion also: Areskoui, or the God of Battle, is the supreme deity of the Indians. Him they invoke before they take the field; and according as they fancy, he is more or less propitious to their entreaties, they conclude their enterprises will be more or less successful. Some nations pay adoration to the sun and moon; among others are many traditions relative to the creation of the world, and their peculiar theogony. In point of inconsistency and absurdity, these traditions outdo the Grecian fables. But religion is not the prevailing character of this people; and except when they think they have immediate occasion for the favour of the gods, they pay them no kind of homage. Like all rude nations, however, they are strongly addicted to superstition. They believe in the existence of a number of good and bad spirits, or genii, who control the affairs of men, and have the distribution of happiness or misery. It is from the evil genii, in particular, that their maladies are supposed to proceed; and from the good, that they expect a cure. The ministers of the genii are the jugglers, who are also the only physicians among the Americans. These they imagine to be inspired by the good genii, most commonly

monly in their dreams, with the gift of prescience; and are therefore called in to the assistance of the sick, whose fate they are judged capable of predicting, by the intervention of their familiar spirits. But those invisible agents are extremely simple in their system of physic: they direct the jugglers to treat all diseases nearly in a similar manner; and, perhaps, the simplicity of medical prescriptions is the best security of the patient, even where men have gained all possible knowledge in the healing art. The sick Indian is generally inclosed in a narrow cabin, in the midst of which is a stone red hot; on this they pour water till he is well soaked with the warm fluid and his own perspiration. Then they hurry him from the bagnio, and plunge him suddenly into the nearest river. This coarse mode of treatment performs many extraordinary cures, while it likewise hurries numbers to the grave. The jugglers have also the use of some nostrums of wonderful efficacy; and almost every savage is dexterous in the cure of wounds. But the aids of magic are always called in, to give power to the application of remedies.

Though religion is not a very prevailing sentiment among the savages, religious impostors are as numerous here as in any country; and some of them act their part with much dexterity and success. These, when their character is once established on the popular belief of their supernatural powers, not only prescribe laws and observances, but even undertake to unfold the mysteries of futurity, and to solve and interpret visions and dreams. They, in general, represent the other world as a place abounding with an inexhaustible plenty of every thing desirable;

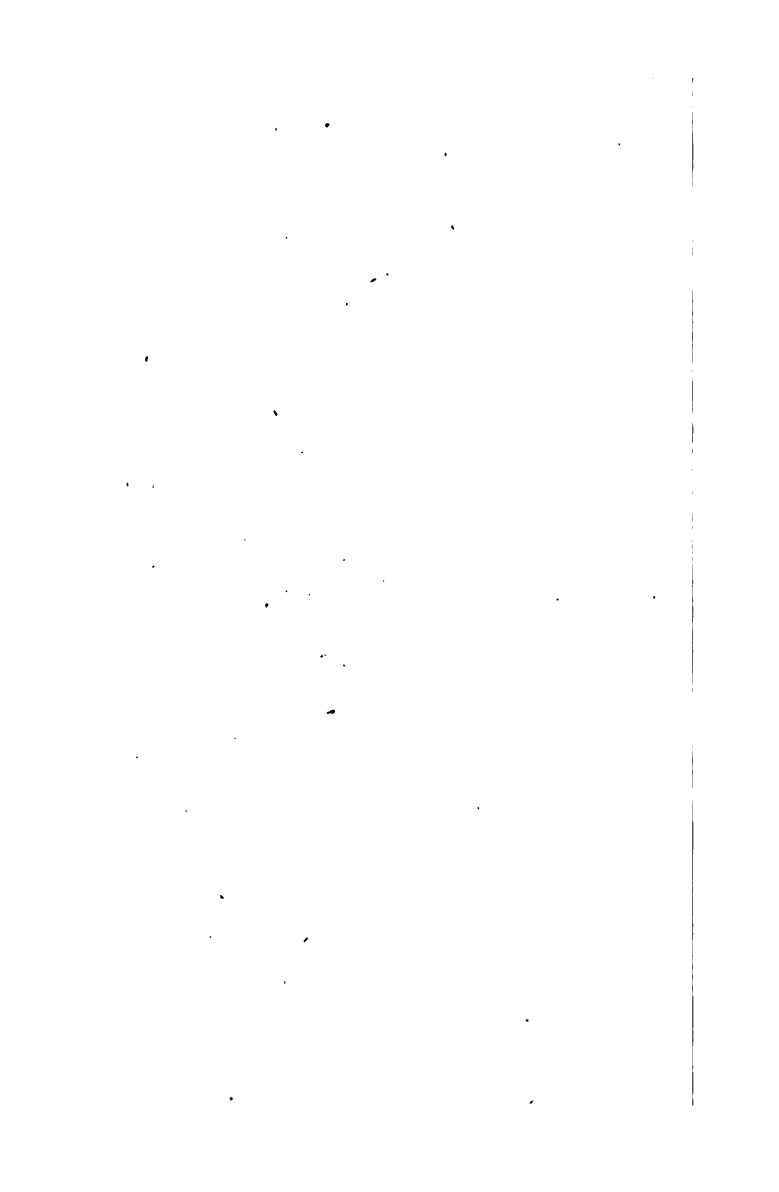
and that the full and exquisite gratification of all the senses shall be the reward of the conduct they prescribe. Hence the Indians meet death with a stoical apathy. The news, that they have but a few hours to live, communicates no alarm. An American, on the brink of eternity, harangues his family and friends with spirit and composure; and gives his dying advice with the same collected mind, as if he were directing in daily occupations.

It will immediately be recognised, that the preceding remarks apply chiefly to the North American Indians. In our account of the conquests of Mexico and Peru it appeared, that the original inhabitants of South America were very different. Such of the inhabitants of the new world as first fell under the observation of Europeans, differed essentially from those we have just described, and from the generality of people in the ancient hemisphere. They differed in features and complexion; they were not only averse to toil, but apparently incapable of enduring it; and when forcibly roused from their native indolence, and compelled to work, they sunk under tasks which the inhabitants of the old world would have executed with ease. This imbecility of constitution seemed endemial in South America. The Spaniards were also struck with the moderation of their appetites for food. The constitutional temperance of the natives far exceeded the most rigid abstinence of mortified hermits; while, on the other hand, the appetites of the Spaniards appeared to them insatiably voracious; and they affirmed, that one European would consume ten times as much as they did. But though their demands were so moderate, their

their agriculture was scarcely equal to their own consumption. Many of the South American natives confined their industry to the rearing of a few plants, which a genial soil and warm climate nurtured without much care.

In short, the inhabitants of South America, compared with those of the North, are generally more feeble in their frames, and less vigorous in their mental efforts. Their spirit is more mild and gentle; but they are enervated by indolence and a love of pleasure, and timid and irresolute in all their pursuits.

In South America, the natives had made some progress in refinement: in North America, neither the soil nor the climate was favourable for luxurious indulgencies; and, therefore, the character of the natives is more strongly marked, and possesses more energy. If, however, we proceed to the countries bordering on Cape Horn, we shall find the same hardy race as in the forests of the north. Climate has more influence on human nature than some are willing to allow; and though the virtues of the soul may exist in any, the energy both of the body and the mind will vary with extremes. Under the pole and the line they are either cramped by cold or enervated by heat: in the temperate zones, throughout the known world, man has always made the greatest progress towards perfection; where neither peculiar institutions nor modes of education have tended to cramp or debase the natural faculties with which he was born.



FIRST VOYAGE
OF
VASQUEZ DE GAMA,
TO THE
EAST INDIES,

WITH A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION ON THE AN-
TECEDENT DISCOVERIES OF THE PORTUGUESE.

THOUGH the polarity of the magnet had been discovered about 1300, it was not applied to the purposes of navigation till 1405, when the Portuguese seem to have converted what was before an object of curiosity only, into an engine the most powerful and the most useful in the history of human inventions.

Possessed of such a discovery, favourably situated above all other nations for maritime adventures, and being animated with the spirit of enterprise, it is not to be wondered at, that the Portuguese early gained celebrity for expeditions by sea, which at last roused other nations to follow the same career.

It was, however, to the zeal and magnanimity of the Infant, Don Henry, the fifth son of King John, that this nation stands indebted for all the glory they have acquired by their discoveries and conquests in the oriental regions: and what increases our admiration is, that at this juncture, a long, a dangerous civil war had but just been

composed. The power of the king, too, was far from being great; his finances were extremely low, and his country so indifferently peopled, that he was obliged to have recourse to other nations, for men to recruit his armies, and to make up the complement of his fleets. Nor were these considerable, when compared with the natives employed by the king of Spain and the republics of Italy. Yet under all these disadvantages, the spirit of trade and navigation not only sprang up, but grew and prospered; and this too while many of the statesmen were averse to such undertakings; weighing rather the certain expence, than the probable gain. But the zeal of the clergy overcame the opposition of the nobility; they were inspired with a zeal for propagating the Christian religion in new countries, and they promoted their discovery to the utmost.

By balancing the powers of the Portuguese with the conquests they made in the east, we shall be led to entertain a very high opinion of their exertions, and of the beneficial consequences which resulted from their successful discoveries.

Don Henry, the patron of enterprise, was a prince endowed with all the great qualities which distinguish heroes from ordinary men. He had manifested his courage, in his youth, in his wars against the Moors; but his mind was too noble to value himself on the arts of destruction, however splendid. He wished to prosecute only such designs as might be beneficial to the human race.

Animated with this resolution, he made himself master of the Canaries, by purchasing the
grant,

grant which the king of Castile had made to Maciot de Bethancourt. This gentleman, for a valuable consideration, resigned his rights into the hands of Prince Henry, about 1406. Ferdinand de Castro, at that time master of the prince's household, was sent to take possession of them. Having now got the key to the coast of Africa, he soon began to fit out ships for discovery in that quarter, and manned them with the most able navigators he could procure.

The utmost limits of the continent of Africa, towards the south-west, at that time known to the Portuguese, was Cape Chaunar, called also Cape Non. It projects from the foot of Mount Atlas. The vessels now sent out proceeded about two degrees farther to Cape Bojadore; but they had not courage to double it. In 1418, Trifan Vaz discovered the Isle of Porto Santo. The next year, the Portuguese fell in with the valuable island of Madeira, to which they gave that name, from its being covered with wood.

In 1439, a Portuguese captain doubled cape Bojadore, which some consider as the Cape Canarea of Ptolemy. The next year they ventured yet farther to Cape Blanco; and soon after discovered the Rio del Oro, with several islands on the coast.

Nono Trifan doubled Cape Verd in 1446; and two years after, Gonzalo Vallo sailed to the islands known by the appellation of the Azores. At that time they were uninhabited, and were settled by this commander, who did not however, visit the islands of Flores and Corvo. These were afterwards occupied by some Flemings.

In 1449, the Cape Verd islands were discovered under the patronage of Don Henry. The
progres

progress made by that prince gave great satisfaction to the sovereign of Portugal, who, to reward his zeal, made him a grant of Madeira and Porto Santo. The Infant, however, judged it requisite, according to the practice of the times, to obtain the sanction of the Holy See. To negotiate this, he sent an ambassador to Pope Martin V. The Holy Father, being well disposed to bestow that which cost him nothing, made a free grant to the crown of Portugal of all that should be discovered in that direction to the Indies. The Papal bull is dated in 1444, and was afterwards confirmed by three of his successors, which, however, gave rise to serious disputes.

Judging from the reverence then paid to the court of Rome, we must confess, that Prince Henry showed much political sagacity in this transaction. For, by pretending that all countries were to be disposed of at the will and pleasure of Rome, he secured his Holiness' consent to whatever he demanded; and he well knew that whatever was sanctioned by this grant, would infallibly be supported by the thunder of the vatican. This great prince died in 1463; the continent of Africa under his auspices having been discovered from Cape Non to Cape Sierra Leona, which laid the foundation of all the subsequent acquisitions.

In 1471, Pedro d'Escovar discovered the Island of St. Thomas and Prince's Island; and soon after Anno Bueno, now corruptly called Annobon. In 1484, Don Cam, a Portuguese, sailed to the coast of Congo, and having received information that a Christian prince reigned in Ethiopia, he magnified his power so much on his return, that John II. who was then on the throne, dispatched

two trusty messengers to ascertain the truth of what he had heard concerning this Christian prince, whom he judged to be Prester John; and at the same time to gain more satisfactory accounts of the state of the Indies. The persons who were intrusted with this charge were Pedro de Covillan and Alphonso de Payva, who had strict orders to commit to writing whatever they deemed worthy of remark; but more particularly, the situation of places, and the navigation of the coast of Ethiopia, by which it was rightly conjectured, a new route might be found to the Indies. Our travellers being perfect masters of the Arabic tongue, proceeded to Alexandria and Cairo, and from thence to the port of Aden in Arabia, where they had an opportunity of conversing with traders of all nations, and many natives of India. This enabled them to accumulate a vast quantity of useful information, which they thought would be highly gratifying to the king. Here they judged it expedient to separate: the one to make a tour of the Indies and the other to proceed to the court of Ethiopia.

Accordingly, Pedro de Covillan set out for the Indies; and having made an exact map of the coasts, crossed the sea to Africa; and after having visited some of the principal ports in the Arabian Gulph, arrived at Sofala, fully convinced, from many concurring testimonies, that a short and easy passage might be found to the east, round the continent of Africa. Elated with these sentiments, he made the best of his way to Cairo, where he hoped to rejoin his companion. But he had the sorrow to hear, that De Payva had been murdered on the road to Ethiopia. For
some

some time he was irresolute how he could best fulfil the objects of his mission; but after mature reflection, he determined to acquaint the king by letter of the discoveries he had made; and then to pursue his route to Ethiopia. This resolution showed his zeal in the cause in which he was engaged, and his ardent desire of satisfying the prince he served. He began his second journey with the same good fortune as he had executed the first; and was extremely well received by Alexander, Emperor of Abyssinia, who was much flattered by the prospect of the friendship of such a powerful prince as the King of Portugal; and promised to dispatch the ambassador, with letters expressive of that impression. However, Alexander dying suddenly, his successor not only treated Covillan with coolness, but with disrespect and cruelty; refused him leave to return home, and detained him till it was concluded in Portugal, that some fatal accident had befallen him. However, he lived to recover his liberty.

While his Portuguese Majesty endeavoured to gain a due knowledge of the state of the Indies by land, he was not inattentive to the prosecution of the same object by sea. To facilitate this design, he employed Bartholomew Diaz, one of his courtiers, to proceed still farther along the coast of Africa. This man, to great prudence and deep skill in navigation, united invincible courage; and in 1486 he executed his commission with equal conduct and success. He carried out with him several negroes, who had long been in his service: these he set ashore at different places, well dressed and furnished with some goods,

goods, on purpose to allure the natives by the show of kindness and generosity.

After coasting along, farther than any navigator had hitherto done, he arrived in view of a lofty cape, where meeting with most unfavourable weather, and losing his victualling bark, his crew mutinied, on the pretext that storms and famine were too much to encounter at once. But the captain represented to them, that the former could not be escaped by returning, and that the only means they had of preventing the latter, was to proceed till they could reach some place where refreshments were to be had. He thus prevailed on them to double the cape, and to sail some distance beyond it, where he erected a stone cross, as he had done wherever he touched along the coast, by way of taking possession in his master's name. Having obtained a small supply of provisions, he returned; and had the good fortune to fall in with his store ship, in which, of nine men left when they parted, only three survived, and one of these died of joy at seeing the captain.

After performing a voyage of sixteen months and seven days, and discovering upwards of one thousand miles of the coast beyond the former limits, he arrived at Lisbon in December 1487.

Having given a full detail of his expedition, he particularly insisted on the danger and difficulty he had found in doubling that stupendous promontory, which he named Cabo Tormentoso, or the Stormy Cape. But the king, from the lights thrown on the subject by Covillan's letters, which had arrived safe, knew how to form a right judgment of the value of this discovery, and therefore called it Cabo del Buena Esperanza,

za, or the Cape of Good Hope*, a name which it has ever retained. The coincidence between the accounts of the navigator and the ambassador convinced the king, that the passage was now open; and that one voyage more would complete the discovery of a direct passage by sea to the Indies.

But while John revolved this great design in his mind, and busied himself in contriving the means of accomplishing it with honour to himself and advantage to his country, the Eternal Ruler of all called him to another state of being. In his last illness he nominated his cousin, Don Emanuel, who had also married his sister, his heir and successor.

When this prince ascended the throne of Portugal he was in the flower of his age, and possessed those qualities, in an eminent degree, which dignify a king. He had an excellent capacity, much penetration, and a correct judgment; but, possessing an amiable diffidence of his own abilities, and being well aware, that the execution of his predecessor's projects would be attended with a large expence, he privately declined entering into them without consulting his council. The statesmen being, however, put in possession of all the information that had been collected, either by the reigning prince or his cousin King John, were extremely divided in their opinions. Some pressed him to pursue the steps of his ancestors, and to complete with glory what they had begun with reputation; while others vehemently opposed the prosecution of this design; and on

* It is with the sincerest satisfaction the writer reflects, that this valuable Cape is now in the possession of his country. May it remain so to the end of time!

both sides he was assailed, as is usual, with such plausible arguments, that neither could confute the other, and reason hung in the balance of suspense.

The advocates for the new navigation contended, that the commerce of the east had been the source of wealth and power to every empire that had possessed it; that Providence seemed to have thrown it into the lap of their nation, and therefore, it would neither be honourable nor advantageous to reject it; that the chief difficulties were now overcome, and scarcely any thing remained but to take possession of what all the world was eager to enjoy, though none but themselves knew how to reach; that the engrossing so rich a trade to Portugal would balance the narrow limits of its sovereignty, and put it on a level with its more potent neighbours; that, in fine, there was no less danger to be apprehended from abandoning the design, than benefit to be expected by its prosecution; since it was probable their ambitious neighbours, the Spaniards, would pursue and accomplish this grand scheme; and thus enable them to effect whatever the lust of power might tempt them to try.

On the other side, it was alleged, that there were many things more apparently necessary to the well-being of Portugal than such expensive expeditions, which involved an uncertain issue, since much land remained to be cultivated at home, and such internal improvements might be adopted as would enrich the kingdom without distant dependencies; that the population of Portugal was too small for its own extent, and would be still more reduced by foreign conquests; that all their discoveries and acqui-

tions hitherto had only furnished a few negroes, elephants' teeth; exotic birds, and curiosities; that the golden dreams which had amused them for a century, had ended in delusion; and that, finally, even the success of the undertaking might be detrimental to Portugal, as it was possible her interests at home might be sacrificed to those abroad.

These deliberations, in which the cause was canvassed with acuteness, though they did absolutely carry the king to abandon the design which had been recommended to him with the last breath of the prince to whom he owed his throne, yet for a long time retarded his preparations, and determined him to pursue the project in such a manner as would secure him from the disgrace of serious loss, if he did not reap the full harvest of glory. At last, however, fearing lest other powers should take advantage of his neglect, especially as the Spaniards were vigorously pushing forward their discoveries, he came to a final resolution, to send out a few ships only with a small number of men; thus endeavouring to avoid extremes, and to steer, as it were, a middle course between the discordant opinions of his council.

In consequence of this determination, in the spring of 1497, he ordered four ships to be equipped for his expedition; of these three were armed vessels, and the other a store ship. The whole force consisted of no more than one hundred and sixty soldiers and seamen. Hence it will be extremely apparent, that it is not a formidable armament, or a vast expence, that is necessary to the accomplishment of a great design; but the choice of a good officer, perfectly master of his plan, and possessing a resolution equal to

its completion. All the maritime expeditions, from the beginning of the world to this period of time, are not comparable to what were performed by Christopher Columbus and Vaquez de Gama, in the narrow compass of seven years, with a joint force scarcely adequate to man a fifty gun ship in the present day.

Before we enter on the history of a voyage, which laid open the treasures of the east by a new and easy communication by sea, it may not be amiss to premise, that hitherto the spices and other valuable productions of India and China, were brought in the junks and barks of those countries to the port of Adlu, then a great commercial city on the southern coast of Arabia Felix. Here these vessels unloaded and returned, while the merchants of Adlu, partly relading the goods in their own ships, and partly sending them by land carriage to Jeddo, conveyed them up the Red Sea to the port of Suez. They were then landed, and transported on camels and carriages over the isthmus to the river Nile*, a passage

* Several of the Kings of Egypt, sensible of the vast advantages that would accrue to them from a communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, endeavoured to cut one, at different times, with immense labour and expence. Herodotus informs us, that in the time of Pharaoh Necho, or Nechus, this work was attempted, but obliged to be abandoned, after one hundred and twenty thousand men had perished in the undertaking. This scheme was again resumed under the Ptolemies, and again relinquished, from the stupid apprehension that the Red Sea, being higher than Egypt by three cubits, would be in danger of overflowing the land. However, the expedient of a canal was adopted to communicate between the Red Sea and the Nile; upon which the ports of the latter began to grow very opulent and renowned; and the cities of Coptus and Berenice, in particular, the

a passage of about fifty miles, and from thence to Alexandria, where the Venetian merchants, who had monopolized that commerce, received them, and disseminated them over all Europe.

Such was the situation of affairs at the æra we are now to treat of. The person honoured with the command of the expedition for the discovery of the Indies was Don Vazquez de Gama, a Portuguese nobleman of various distinguished talents, and particularly skilled in navigation. He was appointed admiral on this occasion, and hoisted his flag on board the St. Gabriel, of no more than one hundred and twenty tons burden. The other ships were the St. Raphael, commanded by Paul de Gama, the admiral's brother; and the Berrio, commanded by Nicholas Coello, besides a bark laden with provisions. These ships set sail from Belem on the 8th of July 1497, and after encountering continual storms, in which they frequently despaired of being saved, had the good fortune at last to enter a large bay, to which they gave the appellation of St. Helena, from its having been discovered on the day dedicated to that saint.

The inhabitants of this island were of small stature, ill-favoured and black. When they spoke, they fetched their breath as if they were fighting; they were clothed in the skins of wild beasts; and armed with stakes hardened in the fire, and pointed with the horns of beasts.

The admiral ordered search to be made for some river, but without success; however, they found water next day. Gama, in his perambu-

mart of all the Indian merchandize. But neglect, in time, brought this canal to ruin and disuse,

lations,

lations, having picked up a native, who was gathering honey, carried him on board ; but as they could not understand each other, he was soon after well dressed and set on shore. Next day, about fifteen of the inhabitants, pleased with the attention their countryman had received, came down to the beach ; and the admiral meeting them, displayed gold, pearl, and spices ; but finding, from the indifference with which they viewed those articles, they were unacquainted with their value, he presented them with small bells, tin rings, and counters, which were highly acceptable. In return, they supplied their benefactors with such provisions as the country afforded ; but this friendly intercourse was of short duration. A young Portuguese having a desire to visit their towns, was received by the natives with great hospitality, and invited to partake of a seal. This food disagreeing with his stomach, he rose and retired with signs of loathing and disgust ; while the natives attended him to the shore. Suspecting they might have some intentions to injure him, he called out for help ; when some of his companions landing, behaved in such a manner as made the Indians consider the Portuguese as their enemies. They soon returned with their lances ; and while the admiral and his officers were standing unarmed, they fell upon them, and wounded four of them, among which number was De Gama himself.

The Portuguese having revenged this attack, though they were certainly the first aggressors, set sail from St. Helena on the 16th of November, and in two days came in sight of the Cape of Good Hope, which they doubled on the 20th, with trumpets sounding and other demonstrations

of joy. As they coasted along, the country exhibited a pleasing prospect of woods and lawns, abounding with flocks and herds. The admiral, having run seventy leagues beyond the cape, entered a bay to which he gave the name of Angra de San Blas. The country in the vicinity of this bay appeared very fertile, and abounded with elephants and buffaloes.

A party of the natives were observed hovering round them, in a few days after their arrival; upon which the admiral landed with all his men, well armed and prepared for either event: but on throwing some small bells towards the negroes, some of them assumed resolution enough to approach and pick them up, and at last to receive them from the hand. The admiral now exchanged a few red caps for ivory bracelets.

A few days after, about two hundred natives came down with twelve oxen and four sheep; and on the Portuguese landing, began to play on a kind of musical instrument, resembling a flute, which they accompanied with the voice. The admiral striking in with this humour, ordered the trumpets to sound, while his men mingled in the dance along with the natives, and thus the day passed in mirth and festivity.

Not long after a number of men and women returned with cattle, of whom the Portuguese purchased an ox; but perceiving some of the negroes armed and skulking behind the bushes, the admiral began to suspect treachery, and ordered his men to retire to a place of security. The negroes followed them some way, and at last joined in a body, as if they intended to fight. De Gama, unwilling to proceed to extremities, withdrew his boats, and ordered two pieces of ordnance

ordnance to be fired, which so terrified the negroes that they fled without their arms. The admiral afterwards sent some of his men ashore to erect a pillar charged with a cross and the King of Portugal's arms; but the natives pulled it down again before their faces.

On leaving this place they were soon overtaken by a violent storm. On Christmas day they saw land, to which they gave the name of Terra de Natal. They then proceeded to a river called De los Reyes. Here De Gama sent two men ashore to obtain intelligence respecting the country and its produce. On those dangerous employments he had malefactors to serve. A kind of traffic commenced; and so much was it carried on to the satisfaction of the natives, that the king of the country was induced to pay the admiral a visit on board.

Again drawing near land on the 11th of January, the boats were manned to view it. In sailing along, they saw many negroes of both sexes, who seemed mild and inoffensive. The admiral then sent one of his men, who was well versed in the languages of Africa, with an attendant, to wait on the king, who received them with affability, and dismissed them with presents. His majesty, in return, received a red jacket, a cap, and a pair of stockings, of the same colour, with which he was so delighted, that he strutted about in his finery among his subjects, who clapped their hands in token of joy and admiration. He likewise invited a young Portuguese gentleman to visit him, and entertained him with fowl and millet. The admiral also received a present of fowls; and so grateful was the reception he had met with in this place, that he called it the Land of Good

Good People. The houses were wholly of straw; and apparently there was a greater number of females than males. They used bows and arrows pointed with iron; and shewed an amazing partiality for linen, which they purchased on any terms their circumstances would allow.

Departing from thence on the 15th of January, they proceeded along a low flat coast, covered with large and lofty trees, as far as Cape Corientes: missing a sight of Sofala, which lay in the way. On the 24th they entered the mouth of a very large river, up which De Gama proceeded with his boats; and had the pleasure to observe, that the natives understood something of navigation, no traces of which had hitherto been seen. The country they visited is now called Cuama: its coast is generally low, but full of trees. Here the negroes came off in their boats without the least hesitation; and behaved to the Portuguese with the familiarity of old friends. This conduct deserved a reciprocal return: the admiral treated them with bells and other toys most acceptable to their taste. No one on board understood their language, so signs were the only interchange of thoughts they could enjoy.

On the third day, two persons of rank arrived in their boats, on purpose to visit the admiral. They wore aprons larger than the rest of their countrymen; and one had his head covered with a handkerchief wrought with silk, the other with a green satin cap. De Gama entertained them courteously, and made them presents of apparel, and other articles, on which they seemed to set little value. It appeared, from signs, that they were of a distant country, and that large ships were no novelty to them. They then produced some calico

lico for sale; at sight of which the admiral was penetrated with joy, and all on board were elevated with the hopes of soon reaching the treasures of the East. This river, therefore, obtained the appellation of the River of Good Signs, and here he erected a pillar, carved with a crucifix and the Portuguese arms.

They left this river on the 24th of January, and, after a voyage of more than a month, descried four islands, from one of which several boats advanced, and made signs for the ships to wait their coming up. No sooner had the admiral dropped anchor, than the boats approached, full of people of a good stature, with a dark complexion; and clothed in various coloured calico. They used the Arabian tongue; and on being entertained on board by De Gama, they seemed to enjoy themselves, and were as communicative as could be wished. They informed him, that the name of their island was Mosambique, and was subject to the king of Quiloa; and that it contained a town peopled with merchants who traded to India, and imported its valued productions.

The soil in the neighbourhood of Mosambique was marshy, and therefore unwholesome. The houses were built of clay, and thatched with straw; but a great number of ships resorting thither, rendered the town commercial and populous. The trade was chiefly in the hands of the Arabian merchants, who, in their naval architecture, made use of wooden pegs instead of nails, and mats made of palm-tree leaves instead of sails. They knew the use of the compass, had some astronomical instruments, and were furnished with sea-charts of tolerable accuracy.

The

The sheik, with his attendants, taking the Portuguese for Moors or Turks, visited the first ship that entered the harbour; but finding none that could converse with them, they soon returned. However, they were not wanting in hospitality. The sheik requested leave to come on board, and De Gama, to prepare for his arrival, ordered the sick men to be removed, and his own ship to be manned with the flower of the crews. The chief appeared richly dressed: he had previously shown a contempt for hawk's bells, trinkets, and toys, and expressed his wonder that the admiral did not send him scarlet. He had a military guard, with drums and ivory trumpets. De Gama received him with marked respect; and conducted him to the cabin, while his retinue remained in the boats. An apology was made for not sending a present of scarlet cloth, because none had been brought. The sheik and his company made themselves welcome on board; and taking the strangers for Turks, desired to see their bows, and their books of the law. The admiral informed him, that they came from the west, and belonged to a country bordering on Turkey; that they had no books of their law with them; but orders were immediately given to produce different kinds of armour, and to show its use, which greatly excited the sheik's admiration. De Gama requested his visiter would supply him with two pilots; and they being readily provided, engaged to perform the voyage for a reward of thirty crowns each and a coat.

This friendly intercourse, however, was but of short duration. The chief no sooner discovered that the strangers were Christians, than his conduct

conduct began to betray symptoms of enmity; and he seemed to be plotting for the destruction of De Gama and his fleet. However, the admiral watered his ships by force, keeping the Moors at a distance for fear of the ordnance. The tumult, however, was not allayed; and the admiral, to revenge the insults he had received, battered down the town with his great guns, and drove the inhabitants into the country. He took a few prisoners, and, among the rest, a pilot.

Plainly perceiving that a longer stay here would be attended with danger, De Gama steered to another island at a short distance, and from thence to Quiloa; but stress of weather obliging him to return, an Arabian pilot he had brought out with him, wished to be carried to Melinda, on his way to Mecca; and as he was now furnished with another pilot, to this assent was given. The weather proving favourable, they again put to sea and made for Mombassa, a city which the pilots observed was chiefly inhabited by Christians. Here they arrived on the 27th of April; but as the ships lay without the bar, a bark approached them in the night with one hundred armed men in the Turkish dress, and were proceeding on board them, had not the admiral insisted on no more than four being admitted. Those who came forward, appeared to be above the common rank; but, with a wise precaution, they were desired to lay aside their arms before they were taken on board. De Gama, however, entertained them in a handsome manner; on which they acquainted him, that the king hearing of their arrival, had sent his compliments of congratulation, and offered to load the ships with spices; observing, at the same time, that
ther

there were many Christians on the island, which so far coincided with the report of the pilots. The next day, the king sent a present of some fruit to the admiral. The deputies professed themselves Christians; and advised him to approach the city and cast anchor in the harbour, where the king could with more facility give proofs of his desire to oblige him.

De Gama, from so many favourable indications, concluding they were sincere, expressed his gratitude, and promised to comply with his majesty's request. To pave the way to a favourable reception, as well as to obtain some general information, he sent two of his exiles with presents to the king. These were treated with much hospitality, and were indulged with a view of the city. They observed many prisoners in irons, were introduced to two Christian merchants; and dismissed by his majesty with samples of corn and spices, and with orders to communicate to the admiral, that he might there be supplied with gold, silver, and other valuable commodities at a less rate than elsewhere.

An offer so flattering, and apparently so disinterested, could not be refused; and the next morning, the admiral prepared to enter the harbour; but the ship striking on a shoal, he again cast anchor; when the pilots instantly jumped into the sea, and were taken up by the natives.

This created some suspicion of the king's intentions. Indeed, his extreme civility from the first favoured strongly of dissimulation; and must have put De Gama on his guard. It afterwards appeared, that, having heard of the transactions at Mosambique, this perfidious prince meditated to destroy the Portuguese, while the ships lay in
the

the harbour; but the accident we have mentioned frustrated that scheme. He, however, soon concerted another, with a low cunning, which proved he was fearful of using open force. During night, the watch of the flag-ship perceived the cable shaking, and on looking round, saw several men swimming about, and cutting it with their swords, to set the ship adrift. Others had got among the tackle of another ship: but on being discovered, they plunged into the sea, and swam to some boats which were ready to receive them.

It was now impossible to doubt of the treachery of this people, and vain to hope for any advantages to be derived from staying longer among them; the admiral, therefore, resolved to proceed for Melinda, without delay. Having got clear of the Bay of Mombassa, he soon after fell in with two sambucos, or pinnaces, one of which he captured. She had seventeen men on board, and a considerable quantity of gold and silver. Same day he reached Melinda, which is only eighteen leagues distance from Mombassa, and situated in 3 deg. south latitude.

The city of Melinda stands on the most level part of a coast generally rocky, and is encompassed with palms, and various fruit trees. It was of considerable extent: the streets were spacious, and the houses built of stone, several stories high, with terraces on the top. The natives appeared swarthy, strong, and well proportioned. They wore turbans of silk and gold; and, from the waist downwards, were clothed with silk and cotton stuffs; some wore short cloaks of calico. Being celebrated archers, they seldom appeared without their bows and arrows.

The admiral felt a high degree of satisfaction at the sight of such a city, bearing some resemblance to those in his native land; and came to an anchor within a league of it. Nobody, however, came on board; and it is probable, that the capture of the pinnace made them considered as pirates. An Arabian prisoner, who had engaged to procure pilots, was therefore set on shore; and being conducted to the king, informed his majesty, that the admiral was desirous of entering into an alliance with him. The king returned a very satisfactory answer, accompanied with a present of three sheep, a quantity of oranges and sugar-canes. A hat, three brass basons, some small bells, and two scarfs were sent for his majesty's acceptance.

Next day, De Gama approached nearer the city, and anchored close by the vessels of some Indian Christians, where the king sent a deputation to inform him, that he meant to visit him in person on the morrow. In the meanwhile the crews of the Indian ships came on board with the king's permission. They were personable people, of a brown complexion. Their religious rites appeared to have been mixed with many Pagan superstitions. When the Portuguese presented a picture of the Virgin Mary and some of the apostles, the Indian Christians not only fell down and worshipped it; but daily repaired with offerings of pepper and other things which they ridiculously laid before the representation of the virgin. The king of Melinda came, according to his appointment, in a large boat with many attendants. He was dressed in a gown of crimson damask, lined with green satin, and wore a rich silk turban. He was seated in an elegant chair, curiously

ously inlaid with wire, on a silk cushion, with another by him, on which was placed a hat of crimson satin. Near him stood an old man, who held a rich sword with a silver scabbard. His retinue were also richly dressed; and a band of musicians performed on sackbuts and flutes. The latter were eight spans long, and very neatly executed.

De Gama met the king in his boat adorned with flags, attended by his principal officers. After mutual salutations, at the king's request he stepped into his boat. His majesty viewed him and his men with minute attention, interrogated him in relation to the country he came from, the name of his sovereign, and the motives that induced him to take such a distant voyage. These questions being satisfactorily answered, the king promised to furnish him with a pilot to Calicut, and invited him to participate in the amusements of the place. The admiral excused himself for the present, but promised to take that pleasure in his return; and to give the king a proof of his friendly intentions, made him a present of all the prisoners he had lately taken.

The prince, highly delighted with this acquisition, was afterwards rowed up to the ships, which he beheld with surprise. The firing of the ordnance gratified and astonished him prodigiously. He complimented the admiral by observing, that he never saw men who pleased him so much as the Portuguese; and expressed his wish that he had some of them to assist in his wars.

It was on the 22d of April, that De Gama left Melinda, and instead of tracking the coast as he had hitherto done, resolved to trust himself to

the ocean. The weather was so propitious to his wishes, that he crossed a sea of seven hundred leagues in twenty three days; and on the 17th of May, the coast of India opened to his view. This was the grand object of his pursuits, and it may be better imagined than expressed, what satisfaction and self felicitation must fill every breast, when the hills of Calicut were pointed out by the pilot. Transported with joy, the admiral made a grand entertainment for the whole crew, and soon after came to an anchor in an open road, about two leagues below Calicut.

Some fishermen in their boats, in a short time, rowed up to the fleet, being struck with admiration of the ships. They were of a brown complexion, and had only a kind of apron hanging down before. De Gama gave these people a courteous reception, after which they piloted him nearer to Calicut, where he cast anchor, and immediately sent one of his convicts on shore to make the usual enquiries and observations. The natives immediately thronged about the stranger; asked many questions of the fishermen who conducted him; and particularly noticed his dress, so unlike that to which they had been accustomed.

Supposing, however, that they might be able to satisfy their curiosity the better, they carried him to the house of two Moors, one of whom, named Bontaibo, could speak Spanish, and knowing him to be a Portuguese, whose language bears a strong affinity to that of Spain, asked him what brought him thither. This question, in an unexpected tongue, having been answered, the Moor told him that he had been acquainted with some Portuguese at Tunis, from whence he came; but he

he could not conceive how any ships from that nation could come hither.

Bontaibo returned with the man, and waited on the admiral. So much were he and his crew surprised and pleased at meeting with a person at such a distance from home, with whom they could converse, that the tear of joy started in their eyes. De Gama embraced Bontaibo with the affection of a friend; sat down by him, and, grasping his hand, asked him if he was a Christian, and how he came to Calicut? Bontaibo answered in the affirmative, that he was indeed a Christian, and had been chief contractor for the warlike stores which King Ferdinand had purchased at Tunis; and that he had arrived in India by way of Cairo. He concluded by observing, that he had on all occasions manifested his friendship for the Portuguese; and that he would now promote their interest to the utmost of his power. The admiral cordially thanked him, and promised him a noble reward for whatever services he should render him. On making enquiries relative to the sovereign of Calicut, the Moor replied, that he was a prince of a benignant disposition, and that he did not doubt he would gladly receive the admiral as an ambassador from a foreign king; particularly, if he came to establish a trade with the country, the royal revenues arising chiefly from the duties on goods.

The zamorin, as he was called, receiving intelligence that the admiral had letters for him from the king of Portugal, sent to bid him welcome; and at the same time dispatched a pilot to conduct him to Padarane, where there was a convenient harbour for shipping. De Gama was invited to proceed from thence by land to Calicut,

where he would be ready to receive him. Fearful of a repetition of the same perfidy he had experienced before, the commander secured his ships with cautious circumspection. Here he received an order from the cutival, or minister for foreign affairs, to land wherever he pleased. De Gama on this calling a council of his officers, informed them, that he intended to go and settle a treaty of commerce and perpetual amity with the zamorin. To this his brother alleged, that though this prince and the natives, as they imagined, were Christians, yet there were many Arabs among them, who were their mortal enemies, and would be highly exasperated against them, for attempting to interfere in their trade; and therefore, as the success of the voyage depended on his preservation, it would be more advisable to send a deputy in his room; a sentiment which was unanimously approved of by the rest. But the admiral declared, that he was resolved to run every risk; observing, that it was for his majesty's interest to protect and encourage traders; and as the inhabitants were chiefly Christians, he had nothing to fear. But in case any accident should happen to him, they must give themselves no concern about his safety, but sail directly to Portugal, with the important news of the discovery they had made.

The resolution of the admiral prevailing, he next day set out in his boat, furnished with ordnance, attended by twelve of his officers, with flags displayed and trumpets sounding. At his landing, he was courteously received by the cutival; and, two litters being provided for them, they were carried on men's shoulders, while the rest proceeded on foot. They halted at a place
called

called Capocats, to dine, where they were entertained with rice and fruits. Then entering some boats, they were conveyed down the river.

De Gama and his suit were afterwards conducted to a large Indian temple, built of free-stone, and covered with tiles, on the walls of which were many painted images, some with large projecting teeth and others with four arms, and such hideous faces, that the Portuguese began to doubt whether they were in a Christian country or not. In the centre of this was a small round chapel, with a tower and a lattice door, to which stone steps on the outside conducted. In the wall opposite to this entrance stood an image, which, from the darkness of the place, could not be distinctly viewed; and admittance was denied to all, save the priest, who approaching and pointing to the figure, thrice called aloud, Maria!

When the cutival and his train came before the chapel, they fell flat on the ground, with their hands before them, three times; and then prayed standing. De Gama and his attendants, supposing this to be an image of the Virgin, fell down on their knees, and made their supplications: but one of the Portuguese having some doubt, said, as he knelt, "If this be the devil, I worship God." Which produced an involuntary smile from his companions.

They now advanced in procession to the palace, followed by an immense concourse of people; and at their entrance into the city, the press was so great, that they were almost stifled. This obliged the cutival to retire with them into one of the houses, where his brother, a person of great distinction, met him with several naires, who were sent by the zamorin to conduct the
admiral

admiral to court. At least three thousand men, in arms attended the procession, which marked attention so highly flattered De Gama, that he turned to one of his officers, and said, " Little do they think in Portugal what honour is paid us here."

It was drawing towards the close of day before they reached the imperial palace, which was spacious, and made a handsome appearance. At the palace gate they were received by several of the grandees, who conducted them through five large courts, furnished with as many gates, and two porters stationed at each. On approaching the chamber of audience, they were met by the king's chief bramin, a diminutive old man, who embraced the admiral, and conducted them all in. So eager were the populace to catch a glimpse of their prince, that they pressed in with the Portuguese, and some lives were lost. Two of the Europeans also narrowly escaped being squeezed to death.

The hall into which they were introduced presented an amphitheatre of seats; the floor was covered with a rich carpet, and the walls hung with silk tapestry interwoven with gold. The zamorin lay reclined on a sofa, covered with white silk, interlaced with gold, with a rich canopy over his head. He was of a brown complexion, a full habit, and appeared advanced in years. He had on a short coat of fine calico, adorned with branches and roses of beaten gold. It was buttoned with large pearls, and the button-holes were overlaid with gold. About his waist was a calico sash which hung down to his knees. His head was covered with a mitre adorned with jewels; in his ears were jewels of the same kind; and

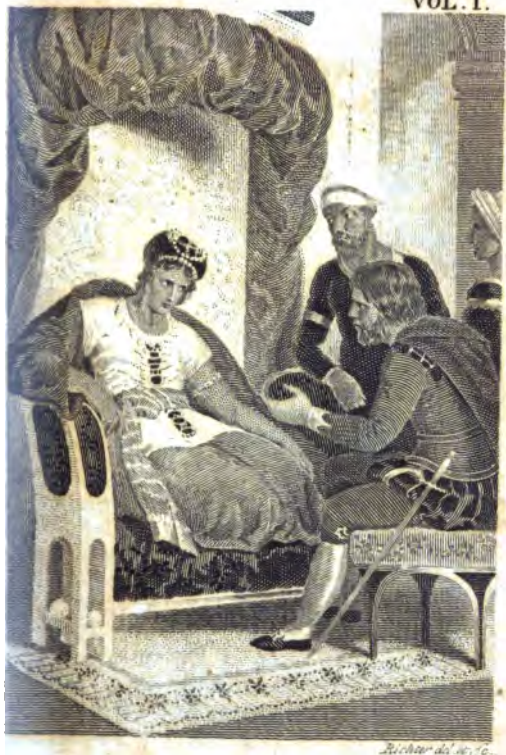
and both his toes and his fingers sparkled with diamond rings. His arms and legs were naked, and adorned with bracelets of gold. In short, his dress was most splendid, and his whole air noble and majestic.

As the admiral approached the presence of the zamorin, according to the custom of the country, he made three obeisances with his hands above his head. His majesty regarded him with complacency; but returned the salute by an almost imperceptible motion of the head. Then making signs for him to advance, he caused him to be seated near him; and the rest of the retinue entering, and paying the same compliment, were seated opposite to him; and were immediately furnished with water to cool their hands, the weather being very hot, though the winter season. The emperor then ordered a collation of figs and jakas to be introduced; and on their calling for water to drink, a gold cup with a spout was brought them. At the same time they were given to understand, that the natives think it impolite to touch the vessel with their lips, and in compliance with the etiquette, they held it at some distance above their mouths; but not being accustomed to that mode of receiving liquor, it either made them cough or sprinkled their clothes, which seemed to be matter of entertainment for the whole court.

This repast dispatched, the emperor ordered De Gama, by his interpreter, to lay his business before the officers who were assembled, that they might communicate it to him. But the admiral modestly intimated, that he could not recede from the practice of the Christian princes of Europe, which was to give an audience to the ambassa-
dora

dors themselves, in the presence of a few of their counsellors. The zamorin said, that he approved of this custom; and ordering the admiral to be conducted into another apartment, resembling the first, followed only by his interpreter, his chief bramin, his betel server, and the comptroller of the household. Being seated on a sofa, he interrogated the admiral respecting the country he came from, and the objects he had in view. To this he replied, that he was ambassador from the King of Portugal, the most potent and opulent monarch of the west; who having heard that there were Christian kings in the Indies, of whom the King of Calicut was the chief, he had thought fit to send an ambassador to settle a trade and amity with him: that the predecessors of the king, his master, had for the space of threescore years been attempting to discover a passage to India by sea; but that none of his captains had been able to accomplish this great design till now. In confirmation of the truth of what he advanced, he promised to produce the letters of his sovereign at his next audience; and observed, that he was commissioned to inform his majesty, that the king his master was his friend and brother, and hoped, if his highness accepted of the proffered friendship, he would send an ambassador to Portugal to strengthen it. The zamorin replied, that nothing could be more agreeable to him than such an alliance. He then made some general enquiries respecting the power of his Portuguese Majesty; the distance between Calicut and Portugal, and how long he had been on his voyage.

It being now late, and the admiral chusing to lodge in a house apart from the natives, ordered his Indian factor to accompany him, and provide
what



*De Gama relating the purport of
his voyage to the Zamorin. pa. 214.*

Date	Time	Location	Weather	Wind	Temp	Humidity	Remarks
1901	1901	1901	1901	1901	1901	1901	1901
1902	1902	1902	1902	1902	1902	1902	1902
1903	1903	1903	1903	1903	1903	1903	1903
1904	1904	1904	1904	1904	1904	1904	1904
1905	1905	1905	1905	1905	1905	1905	1905
1906	1906	1906	1906	1906	1906	1906	1906
1907	1907	1907	1907	1907	1907	1907	1907
1908	1908	1908	1908	1908	1908	1908	1908
1909	1909	1909	1909	1909	1909	1909	1909
1910	1910	1910	1910	1910	1910	1910	1910
1911	1911	1911	1911	1911	1911	1911	1911
1912	1912	1912	1912	1912	1912	1912	1912
1913	1913	1913	1913	1913	1913	1913	1913
1914	1914	1914	1914	1914	1914	1914	1914
1915	1915	1915	1915	1915	1915	1915	1915
1916	1916	1916	1916	1916	1916	1916	1916
1917	1917	1917	1917	1917	1917	1917	1917

what he should have occasion for. He was also attended by the cutival and his officers; but a heavy shower falling, they were obliged to shelter themselves at the factor's, who offered to furnish De Gama with a horse; but, as he had no saddle, he preferred walking on foot to his lodgings.

At this moment, every thing seemed to present the fairest prospect of honour and advantage to the Portuguese; but while the admiral was indulging this pleasant dream, he was on the very brink of seeing the fruits of his expectations ravished from him. Formidable rivals started up to oppose his views. The religion of Mahomet had been introduced by the Tartars, and was as predominant there as Paganism. The hatred that the Musselmén bore to the Christians, animated them to revenge; and the Arabs, from several distant regions, carrying on a very lucrative commerce in the countries of Mogul and Malabar, the fear of being supplanted made them conspire the destruction of their new opponents.

The admiral being now secured, the cutival, through the instigation of the Arabs, made use of various artifices to get possession of the ships likewise: in this, however, the vigilance of De Gama disappointed them; and, after much difficulty, once more got on board.

Though the principal in the expedition did not venture to trust himself again on shore, he gave his men liberty by turns to visit the city, where they were kindly received by the Indians, and merchandized without restraint. The natives, on the other hand, daily resorted to the ships in boats, and were well entertained by the admiral.

Matters went on in this train till the 10th of
Augt

August, when the season for returning being arrived, De Gama, sent Dias, his factor, to the emperor with a present of scarfs, silk, coral, and other articles, ordering him to acquaint his majesty with his intended departure; and to request, in case he should be inclined to send an ambassador to Portugal, that he might be dispatched. He also informed him, that it was his intention to leave his factor and secretary at Calicut with the goods he had there, till the arrival of another fleet from the west; and as a confirmation of his having been in India, begged the zamorin would send the king, his master, a bahar of cinnamon, another of cloves, and a third of spices, which should be paid for out of the first goods disposed of in the country.

After waiting four days, the factor was admitted to the presence of the prince, who, with a severe look, asked him what he wanted. Diaz with much trepidation delivered his message, and was about to offer the present, when the zamorin refused to see it, and ordered it to be delivered to his factor; and then bid him tell the admiral, that he was at liberty to depart, if he wished; but that he must first, according to the custom of the port, pay him six hundred sharafins. Diaz, however, had no sooner returned to the factory than he was confined there; and proclamation was made through the city, forbidding any one to go on board the fleet, on pain of death. However, Bontaibo had the courage to disobey this mandate, and advised the admiral to be on his guard, informing him, that the Arabs had represented them to the zamorin as pirates; and that they came with no other design but to carry off, by force, the merchandize of the place, and to pry
2 into

into the strength of the nation. Two days after, some boys came on board offering precious stones for sale; but though the admiral regarded them as spies, he dissembled his knowledge of what had passed, and suffered them to depart, in hopes of alluring others of more consequence on board. This had the desired effect, for the zamorin concluding from hence, that the admiral was ignorant of the detention of his factor and secretary, sent persons on board to amuse him, till he could fit out a fleet, or the ships of Mecca should arrive, to capture him. At length six of the principal Malabars, with fifteen attendants, coming on board, he ordered them to be seized, and sent back two of the boatmen with a letter in the Malabar tongue, demanding his factor and secretary in exchange. But not arriving so soon as was expected, the admiral set sail, and came to an anchor four leagues below Calicut, where having waited for three days, he put to sea almost out of sight of land, when a boat came off to inform him, that his people were in the zamorin's palace, and would be with him next day. De Gama firmly let them know, that they must instantly bring his men or letters from them; and that if they returned without either the one or the other, he would sink them; and if they did not return at all, he would cut off the heads of those he had seized. As soon as the boat was departed with this message, he steered towards the shore, and anchored near Calicut.

Next day seven boats came up to the flag ship, in one of which was Diaz and the secretary, whom the natives delivered up, and then retired to some distance for the admiral's answer. They likewise brought a letter for the King of Portugal

written on a palm-tree leaf, and signed by the zamorin. It was couched in the subsequent laconic terms. "Vasco de Gama, a gentleman of thy house, came to my country; of whose coming I am glad. In my country there is plenty of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, and precious stones. The things which I am desirous of receiving from thy country, are gold, silver, scarlet, and coral."

The admiral made no other reply, but that he had sent back the naires, and would detain the rest till his merchandise on shore was restored. The next day Bontaibo came on board, and told the admiral, that the cutival, by the king's order, had seized his effects, on pretence that he was a Christian, and had been sent over land as a spy, by the King of Portugal. He added, that he was aware all this was done at the instigation of the Arabs; and not doubting but, as they had taken his goods, they would next injure his person, he had fled for protection. De Gama immediately ordered him to be well accommodated on board; and promised that on his arrival at Portugal, he should meet with ample recompense for his losses. Afterwards three almadias arrived with scarfs laid over the benches, and pretended that they had brought all the goods, and therefore demanded that the prisoners should be liberated. The admiral perceiving that this was no more than an artifice, told them he should carry the Malabars to Portugal as a confirmation of his discovery; and would soon return again to Calicut, when the zamorin would be satisfied whether the Christians were pirates or not, as the Arabs had given out.

It may be proper to remark, that Calicut, the first scene of Portuguese adventure in the East,
stands

stands in the middle of the coast of Malabar, on an open shore, where there is no shelter for European vessels; but those of the country being formed of planks, bound together with ropes, and flat-bottomed, are easily drawn on shore. Though the city, at that time, was large, the houses were constructed of hurdles, except the imperial palaces and temples, which were built of stone and lime; for, by the existing laws, no other structures were allowed of those materials. This city was then the grand emporium of India for all kinds of spices, drugs precious stones, calicoes, gold, silver, and other rich commodities. The people were generally Pagans, and paid an implicit obedience to their bramins, or priests, as well in secular as in sacred affairs.

The admiral being becalmed, soon after he set sail, at about a league's distance from Calicut, the zamorin sent sixty tonies filled with soldiers to seize the ships. Providentially a fresh gale springing up, the fleet escaped; but was pursued by the Malabars for an hour and upwards. It was indeed fortunate for the Portuguese, that they arrived here in the beginning of winter, when the emperor's fleet, which was very numerous, was laid up. Had it been equipped, they must have fallen an easy prey.

Notwithstanding this attempt, the admiral dismissed one of the captives, at the first port he touched at, with a letter to his sovereign, in which he recapitulated the snares which had been laid for him by the Arabians, apologized for his carrying away the natives, and professed the utmost regard for his majesty. He promised to exert himself to establish such a league between him and the King of Portugal, as would redound to

on the coast. De Gama being apprized of this, ordered him to be carried on board and whipped, in order to obtain a confession of his situation and intentions. This punishment having no effect, he inhumanly caused him to be hoisted up by a pulley, in a most indecent and excruciating form. After he had been lifted up in this manner the fourth time, he confessed, that he was a Polish Jew; and that Sabay, meditating an attack on the Portuguese ships, had sent him to ascertain their strength and mode of fighting. This having some verisimilitude, the admiral then sent him under the hatches, and had him cured of the injury he had received; telling him, for his consolation, that he did not design to make a slave of him, but would carry him to Portugal, to furnish the king with what information had fallen under his notice in the country. Being afterwards used with kindness, he was baptized under the name of Jasper de Gama, and rendered essential services to the Portuguese.

It was on the 5th of October, that De Gama left this coast, and directed his course for Melinda. In this long passage he experienced an alternation of storms, calms, and contrary winds; and his men became so tainted with the scurvy, that pest of mariners on distant voyages, that not more than sixteen men in each ship were fit for service. To prevent their overshooting Melinda, they dropped anchor every night. When they had arrived within ten leagues of that city, eight large boats, filled with soldiers, appeared steering towards the ships; but, on receiving the first fire, they tacked about and fled.

The admiral experienced the same friendly reception at Melinda as he had done in his passage out.

out. Having staid five days to take in refreshments, and received on board an ambassador from the king to his Portuguese Majesty, he burned one of his ships, the St. Raphael, and distributed the men among the other two. Indeed, with such a reduced number of hands, it would have been impossible to navigate them all.

De Gama reached Zanzibar, a pretty large island in 6 deg. south latitude, on the 27th of February. The prince, though a Mahometan, courteously entertained the Portuguese; and furnished them with what supplies his territories produced. Nothing happened worthy of remark till the 26th of April, when they again doubled the Cape of Good Hope, that grand barrier which had so long been regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of navigation. They now directed their course to the island of St. Jago; but the two ships being separated by a violent storm, the commander of the Berrio, anxious to carry the earliest intelligence of the discoveries to the king, sailed directly for Lisbon, and on the 10th of July put into Cuscais. The admiral having touched at St. Jago, left his ship to be refitted, and sailing from thence in a hired caraval, arrived safe at Belem, in September 1499, after a long voyage of two years and two months, with the loss of more than half his men.

On his landing, every mark of honour was paid him, every demonstration of joy attended his discoveries. The king sent several gentlemen to conduct him to court; and immense crowds, through which he passed, joined in the tribute of congratulation. He was honoured with the title of Don; he was permitted to quarter the royal arms, and had an annual pension of three thousand

sand ducats assigned him. The other captains received likewise honours and rewards; and the king, so liberal to others, made a most extravagant appropriation to himself. In addition to his former description, he assumed the lofty titles of Lord of the Conquest and Navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and the Indies. Public thanksgivings were offered up throughout Portugal for the success of this discovery; and feasts and entertainments were generally celebrated. Even those who had long opposed the design as impracticable, now grew ashamed of their opposition; and became zealous in the cause they had once contemned.

If we compare the discoveries of Columbus and De Gama, the palm of navigation must be allowed to the former. Columbus discovered a new world by a path never attempted, and which his own original mind alone suggested: De Gama only prosecuted and completed the discoveries of others; he knew there was a country to which he was bound, though the road had never been traced; and he met with few novelties which he might not reasonably expect to find.—To Columbus, every thing was new. If we compare their respective discoveries in their importance and consequences, the general decision of the judgment will probably be in favour of that of Columbus. The east is only the hot bed of luxury, the enervating soil where man dwindles into the slave, or arrogates to himself the power of a tyrant. America presents a field in its great variety of climate, where the human powers may one day perhaps expand beyond their present limits, and the ingenuity of man, sharpened by the necessity of labour and industry, may

may explore new paths of science, and open new avenues to happiness and enjoyment. From this favourable representation, however, we must for ever exclude the greatest part of the American Islands, or, as they are called, the West Indies. Similar causes will always produce similar effects. The same climate and some of the same productions distinguish both the East and West Indies ; but if we estimate the happiness and the comforts of man, for which alone countries were made, we shall here find the East preferable to the West. While the slave-trade, that opprobrium of humanity, that disgrace to religion, continues, we are almost tempted to wish that the scene of such enormous wickedness had never existed, or had never been discovered.



VOYAGE OF
PEDRO ÁLVAREZ DE CABRAL,
TO THE
EAST INDIES.

OF the gentleman who conducted this expedition, little seems to be known. It cannot, however, be doubted, but he must have been a man of rank, and highly distinguished in his profession. To him, as we shall see in the sequel, Portugal is indebted for the discovery of Brasil, so that De Cabral is entitled to rank at least with an Americus Vesputius or a Cabot.

On the arrival of De Gama from his voyage, which laid open the Indies, expectation was highly raised, and it was immediately resolved to prosecute the advantages, just disclosed to view, with assiduity and perseverance. For this purpose, thirteen vessels of different sizes were fitted out, and the command was given to Pedro Alvarez de Cabral. His force consisted of one thousand two hundred men; exclusive of eight Franciscan friars, eight chaplains, and a chaplain major. This part of the complement may excite a smile; for, though these religious might be able to preach, how could they make themselves understood? Unless they had possessed the gift of tongues, their labours in this stage of the intercourse

tercourse between Europe and the east, must have been either nugatory or ridiculous. However, like the disciples of Mahomet, they had orders to convert by argument or by the sword.

Cabral, at his departure, received from the king the flag of the cross, and was instructed, that, in case the Zamorin of Calicut voluntarily consented to the settling of a factory, he was privately to be influenced against suffering the Arabians to participate in the trade; and in that condition it was to be represented, that Portugal, by its imports, would supply all his demands on the most moderate terms; and, by its exports, take off the manufactures of his country to advantage. This was the grand outline of instruction for the conduct of the commodore.

On the 9th of March 1500, the fleet set sail, and having passed the island of St. Jago, they met with a violent storm which dispersed the ships, and obliged one of them to put back to Lisbon. Having collected his squadron again, with the above exception, he proceeded on his voyage, and steered to the south-west, to keep clear of the coast of Guinea. Sailing in this course, on the 24th of April, one of the sailors discovered land, to the inexpressible joy and surprise of the admiral. The pilots could not imagine that it was a continent; but took it for a large island. They however, cruised along the coast for a whole day, and then ventured on shore, where they found an infinite number of people entirely naked; and neither resembling the negroes nor the East Indians. The party that had landed made a report, that there was safe anchorage in the vicinity, on which the fleet approached to the land.

The

The natives taking alarm at this unusual appearance, retired to the hills; and seemed to watch the motions of the Portuguese. Just as they were going to launch their boats, in order to attempt some intercourse with them, a sudden storm drove the ships from their anchors, and carried them down the coast to a harbour which they called Puerto Seguro, or Safe Harbour. Here two Indians were secured, and being clothed by De Cabral's order, were presented with small mirrors, brass rings, and bells, and sent on shore. On this, a great concourse of the inhabitants came down to the shore singing, dancing, sounding horns, and leaping in all the exultation of joy.

These favourable appearances prompted the admiral to land: and, it being Easter-day, an altar was erected under a tree, where the Portuguese sang mass. The Indians peaceably approached them, knelt with the Portuguese, imitated all their gestures, and listened with attention to a sermon, which was delivered on the occasion.

This discovery seemed of so great importance, that the admiral immediately dispatched a ship to Portugal with advice. This intelligence was highly acceptable to the mother country; and though Brasil has seen various revolutions and changes since its first discovery, it has long remained the most valuable appendage of his Faithful Majesty. A free intercourse was instantly established between the natives and the Portuguese in De Cabral's squadron; they visited each other, and interchanged civilities without the reserve of suspicion.

The country produced maize and cotton, and appeared abundantly fertile. A stone cross was erected to denote possession, whence this colony was at first called Santa Cruz, but its name was afterwards changed to Brasília, from the trees so called, in which it abounds. The fertility and beauty of the soil are not superior to the salubrity of the climate, for here the natives live to a very extended age. Several large rivers and an infinite number of delightful streams water this country. The plains are spacious, and the whole face of nature beautifully diversified.

At this period, the natives were strangers to every kind of learning; and restrained by no laws but those of nature. They had no superior, except when they were engaged in war. On such occasions, the man most distinguished for bravery was elevated to the rank of general. Few of them wore any dress except on the head, which was adorned with plumes of feathers. Some also wore feather ornaments from the waist to the knee. The women seemed to pride themselves in combing and dressing their hair, while the men were shaved from the forehead to the crown. Such as affected finery, suspended stones of various colours and sometimes shells from their ears, nostrils, and lips. They were very dexterous archers, and their arrows, being pointed with fish bones, were capable of doing much execution. Hunting was their principal support; as for agriculture, it was scarcely attended to. They had boats made of the bark of trees large enough to contain thirty men; and while one party on board paddled these vessels along, another beat the water to disturb the fishes, which rising to the surface, were caught in large calabashes.

Their

Their dwellings were small wooden huts, thatched with reeds, and surrounded with pallisades. Several families, connected by the ties of friendship, lived within the same inclosure; and between them, the most affectionate regard, in general, subsisted. Divorces were allowed for the most trifling offence; and if the wives proved unfaithful, they might either be killed or sold for slaves.

Among a people, where manufactures and commerce were scarcely known, much activity of body or of mind could not be expected. They, however, indulged in feasting, singing, and dancing. In their dances they displayed little agility. Having formed a ring, instead of varied motions, they remained on the same spot, beating the ground with their feet, and keeping measure with their songs, which were composed to celebrate their own exploits. While one set was thus employed, another kept plying them with liquor, till they could stand no longer; and then succeed in their turn.

To revenge an injury, or an insult, was the only pretext for war. These people never thought of enlarging their territories, but only of defending them. Their prisoners were treated with that want of generous feeling, which distinguishes uncivilized nations; and, from various testimonies, there is too much reason to believe, that they neither thought it unlawful or improper to kill and eat them. Yet, we must not credit all that is said on this subject: the aboriginal Brazilians, though uncultivated, were naturally mild; and we should hope, in general, abhorrent of such detestable crimes.

The only enemy that molested the repose of the Brasilians, was a wild and savage race inhabiting the mountains. Among this people, murder was the only punishable crime, and life for life the usual expiation. But if the murderer escaped, his nearest relations were delivered up as slaves to the heirs of the deceased, when all resentment ceased.

Among the Brasilians, superstition had long prevailed and taken deep root. Omens were observed, and sorcery practised by a particular order of men, who were held in high veneration, and consulted on all emergencies. These persons generally carried an arrow, at the extremity of which hung a calabash, within which they kindled the leaves of a certain plant, and inhaling the smoke by their nostrils, soon became intoxicated. They then rolled their eyes and threw their bodies into a variety of contortions; uttering an unconnected jargon of sense and nonsense, which the deluded spectators considered as the effect of divine inspiration. These impostors were constantly attended by the credulous multitude with every mark of respect and joy; and neither married nor single females were thought to be dishonoured by their embraces.

Such are the accounts transmitted to us of the inhabitants of Brasil, when it was first known to Europeans. De Cabral left here two convicts, whose sentence had been changed to transportation, and of whom he had several on board. These were kindly used by the Indians; and one of them acquiring the language, was long useful to his country in the capacity of interpreter.

Setting sail from the coast of Brasil, the fleet sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, and met the usual

usual concomitants of that coast, storms and tempests. For the first time they saw a water-spout, on the 28th of May, and being unacquainted with this phenomenon, considered it as an indication of fair weather; but suddenly, such a terrible hurricane arose, that four of the ships were dashed against each other, and, with every person on board, sunk, without the possibility of granting them relief. Among those who found a watery grave, was the celebrated Bartholomew Diaz, who had first doubled the Cape, and paved the way to the Indies. The remainder of the fleet was half filled with water; and for the space of two days, they had no other prospect than of following the fate of their unfortunate companions. On the third day, the wind seemed to abate, but it was only during the interval of its veering to another point, from whence it began to blow with increased violence, and the waves to swell to the height of mountains. This dreadful tempest lasted twenty days, in all its horrors, while every moment threatened death; but at length moderating, they found that they had passed the Cape of Good Hope. During this storm the ships had been separated; but afterwards, all joined company, save one, which, after incredible disasters, at last reached Portugal with only six men alive.

The admiral fell in with the coast of Africa in 27 deg. south latitude; and had a prospect of a country pleasant and full of flocks. But the natives declining to have any commerce with him, he cruized along the coast. Coming in sight of some islands near the continent, he observed two ships at anchor, which, slipping their cables, endeavoured to escape; but were captured by the

Portuguese, in spite of all their efforts. De Cabral, on taking possession of them, being informed that they belonged to a prince allied to the King of Melinda, and that they were proceeding from the gold mines of Sofala, dismissed them untouched, out of compliment to a sovereign who had shown himself so partial to the Portuguese.

The admiral touched at Mosambique, and providing himself with a pilot, continued his course to Quiloa. Being arrived there, he dispatched a messenger to Ibrahim, the king, informing him that he had letters for him from his Portuguese Majesty, in terms of friendship and alliance; and that, as his royal master had expressly forbid him to go on shore, he hoped his majesty would honour him with an interview on the water. Ibrahim received the communication with sensible pleasure, and instantly forwarded some presents to the commander, with a promise of meeting him next day. Accordingly, he came in a richly-ornamented vessel, attended by a large retinue splendidly dressed, and armed with swords and daggers, the hilts of which sparkled with diamonds, while the whole harbour resounded with the music of flutes and trumpets.

De Cabral was attentive to receive his majesty with suitable honours; he saluted him with the great guns; and ordering all his officers, dressed in their richest uniforms, to attend him in their respective boats, he proceeded in his own barge to the vessel in which the king was seated. Mutual compliments passed, he delivered his royal master's letters written in Arabic, and communicated the particulars of his embassy, which the king heard with much satisfaction; and replied, that he should henceforth consider Emanuel

such as his brother, and promote his interest with zeal. It was also agreed, that the next day a deputy should be sent on shore to ratify the treaty, and this interview ended with the most promising appearances of a cordial and advantageous alliance between the contracting nations. But these prospects were suddenly blasted by the artful insinuations of the Arabian merchants, who represented the Portuguese as a set of sanguinary pirates, who, under the mask of friendship, plotted to deprive the king of his possessions, and ravage his country. These insinuations were so powerfully addressed to the conviction of the African prince, that he laid aside all thoughts of confirming the proposed alliance, and set about putting his city in a posture of defence. This unpleasant news being communicated to De Cabral by the king of Melinda's brother, who was at that time at Quiloa, he resolved to prosecute his voyage, and to confute his enemies by his conduct.

The dominions of Ibrabim were of great extent. They reached nearly four hundred leagues along the coast, from Cape Corientes almost to Mombassa. These territories were populous and full of towns; and a number of islands on the coast were tributary. The king and his subjects were Mahometans. Quiloa was a place of great trade, particularly in the gold of Sofala, on which account there was a great resort of merchants from Arabia Felix and other regions. The ships here, as was customary on this coast, were built without nails, and wild frankincense was employed instead of pitch.

From Quiloa the admiral steered for Melinda. As soon as he dropped anchor, he saluted the
tor

town with all his ordnance, and set on shore the ambassador, who had visited the court of Portugal, attended by some Portuguese, who carried rich presents and a letter from King Emanuel. The presents were so satisfactory to his majesty, that next day he made his appearance on a horse richly caparisoned with furniture received from Portugal; and in this style proceeded to the seaside, where the admiral met him with his officers in their boats; and the most friendly interview took place. But notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the king, the admiral declined making any long stay; he, however, left two exiles, who were ordered, if possible, to penetrate to Ethiopia, where fame had reported there was a Christian prince, and to inform themselves of the manners and customs of his people.

On the 7th of August, De Cabral set sail from Melinda with a fair wind, and touched at the Anchediva Islands, where waiting a few days, in vain, for the ships of Mecca, he renewed his voyage, and on the 13th of September cast anchor near Calicut. A number of boats with provisions soon visited him; and afterwards some of the principal naires, with a message from the zamorin, expressive of the pleasure he felt at his arrival, and with proffers of the sincerest friendship. On this the admiral wasted his ships nearer the city, and sent off the four Malabars, whom De Gama had carried away, with a messenger to demand a safe conduct. The natives seeing their countrymen return in good health and well dressed, after the Portuguese fashion, began to entertain favourable sentiments of their visitors. The emperor, too, showed great signs of satisfaction, though he would not immediately

ly admit them to his presence. He, however, gave free permission to every person to come on shore. The admiral on this sent Alonzo Hertido, with an interpreter, to inform the zamorin, that he was commissioned to settle a trade and friendship with him, the sole view of his coming; and therefore requested hostages, that he might personally wait on his majesty. The cutival and one of the principal naires were named by De Cabral as the persons he should wish to be sent on board.

To this the emperor objected, on account of their age and infirmities, and nominated others, while the Arabs strenuously exerted themselves to prevent his trusting any; but after three days deliberation, the zamorin, elated with the prospect of commercial advantages, dispatched the hostages. The admiral, having delegated his command to Sancho de Toar during his absence, and left directions to entertain the hostages with respect, but not to deliver them up on any pretence, resolved to wait on his majesty on shore.

This being settled, several of the principal naires, with a large retinue and a band of music, were sent to conduct the admiral on shore, who being informed that the emperor waited for him in a pavilion near the shore, set out with all possible state, accompanied by his officers and the boats of the fleet. The hostages expressed a reluctance to enter the ships till they saw the admiral landed, being apprehensive of some treachery. During this dispute, De Cabral stepped on shore, where many principal naires waited for him; and was immediately seated in a chair, and, with all his train, carried to the serama, a kind

of lodge covered with tapestry, at the farther end of which sat the zamorin, cross-legged on a cushion, in an alcove, from the top of which hung a cloth of state, of crimson velvet.

Nothing could be more splendid, or more rich, than the dress of the zamorin. His head was covered with a cap of gold cloth; and from his ears depended brilliants, composed of diamonds, sapphires, and pearls. Round his waist he wore a piece of white calico embroidered with gold: the rest of his body was naked. His arms, from the elbow to the wrist, were loaded with bracelets of the most costly stones; his fingers and toes were covered with rings, and on his great toe was a ruby of the brightest lustre. But all this was surpassed by the richness of his girdle, which was wholly covered with precious stones set in gold, and cast a dazzling lustre. Near the emperor stood a chair of state; and his litter was entirely composed of gold and silver, sprinkled with jewels. There were also three golden trumpets and seventeen of silver, the mouths of which were set with gems; and silver lamps and censers smoked with the sweetest perfumes. At some little distance from the zamorin stood his two brothers, and, a little farther off, a train of nobles.

The admiral, on his admission, intended to have kissed the zamorin's hand; but being informed that was not the etiquette, he desisted; and was seated in a chair next his majesty, the highest honour that could be shewn him. He then delivered his letters of credence, written in Arabic, which being read, he next communicated his message, importing, that the King of Portugal was anxious to cultivate a friendship with the
zamorin,

zamorin, and to be permitted to settle a factory at Calicut, which should be constantly supplied with European commodities; and requested that, either by way of exchange or for money, he might be allowed to lade his ships with spices. The terms of this embassy appeared highly flattering to the zamorin; and he informed the admiral, that his master should be welcome to whatever his city supplied.

While the conference was going on, the presents were introduced. They consisted of a wrought silver basin gilt, a fountain of the same, a silver cup with a gilt cover, two wedges of gold, four cushions, two cloths of gold, and two of crimson velvet, a cloth of state, of striped velvet, laced with gold, a very fine carpet, and two rich pieces of arras.

After the audience, the zamorin told the admiral, that he might either retire to the ships or lodgings; that he must send for the hostages, who, being unaccustomed to the sea, he was certain, would neither eat nor drink on board; but adding, that if he came next day to conclude the negotiation, they should be again committed as pledges for his security.

This auspicious beginning was in danger of being blasted, by some unreasonable jealousy on both sides. The admiral having reached the sea-side, a servant, belonging to one of the hostages went before in a pinnace, by order of some of the zamorin's officers of state, to acquaint them that the admiral was coming on board. This they no sooner heard, than they leaped into the sea, in order to get off in the pinnace, but some of them were retaken. The rest, however, got off, and among them the cutival. In the inter-

rin, the admiral coming on board, ordered those, who had been retaken, to be put under the hatches, and sent to the emperor to complain of the conduct of the rest ; promising to deliver up those he had detained, as soon as his men on shore and baggage were restored.

This shows that neither party yet thought it advisable to trust the other. Next day, however, the zamorin, with one thousand two hundred men came down to the water side, and sent on board the admiral's men and baggage, and no less than thirty pinnaces attended to fetch back the hostages. While they were hesitating, on both sides, about the delivery, the eldest of the pledges and another person jumped overboard. One of them was again recovered ; and was ordered to be closely watched ; but no requisition being made of him in three days ; and the admiral observing that he could not be brought to eat, at last dismissed him ; on which, two Portuguese, still on shore, were sent back.

Some days after this elapsed without any intelligence from the emperor ; on which the admiral resolved to send a messenger, to learn if he was disposed to finish the treaty begun, in which case he proposed to send his chief factor on shore, provided hostages were delivered as before. Fear and suspicion had, however, so strongly possessed all on board, that Francisco Correa was the only person who would engage to deliver the message. On his landing, he was handsomely received, and the zamorin told him, that it would give him pleasure to have the trade settled, and made no difficulty in trusting the Portuguese with hostages. He nominated, as his pledges, the two nephews of a rich Guzerat merchant,

chant, who were immediately sent on board; and an elegant house was provided for Ayres Correa, the factor, in which he might lodge his merchandise. The grandfather of the hostages was farther appointed to instruct the factor in the customs and usages of the commerce of the country. However, the Guzerat merchant having a predilection for the Arabian traders, sold the Portuguese commodities at what price was offered, and advised Correa to give as much for the merchandise of India as was asked. Whenever the factor had an audience of the zamorin, some of the Arabian merchants were present to counteract his measures; and they even prevailed on the Admiral of Calicut to proceed to some steps indicating hostilities.

De Cabral, acquainted with these movements, and apprehensive that he might be attacked by the imperial fleet, if he remained in the harbour, weighed anchor and stood out to sea, that he might deliberate in security on what was to be done. The zamorin, on this, sent for Correa, and being apprized of the reasons that induced De Cabral to leave the harbour, desired he would request his return, and gave prompt orders for frustrating the machinations of the Arabians. He also removed the Guzerat merchant from his attendance on Correa, and substituted another person, named Cosebequin, who, though a Turk, was partial to the Portuguese. And to prevent the factor from being interrupted by the Arabian merchants, and to give him an equal opportunity of trading to advantage, bestowed on him the perpetuity of a house near the sea-side. This deed of gift was confirmed by signing and sealing an instrument, which was afterwards wrapped

up in cloth of gold, for the admiral to carry to Portugal, in confirmation of his amicable intentions. The emperor also ordered, that a flag, with the arms of Portugal, should be fixed on the top of this edifice. After this unequivocal mark of the zamorin's pleasure, a commercial intercourse began to commence between the natives and the Portuguese, and their former jealousies seemed to die away.

While these transactions were going on, De Cabral was made acquainted, that a large Ceylonese ship, with several elephants on board, was bound to Cambaya, and that the commander having refused to accommodate the zamorin with one of those animals, it would be a grateful piece of service, if the Portuguese would capture the vessel. This seems neither very honourable nor politic; but the admiral, to oblige the zamorin, gave him to understand that he would attack the ship, though he represented the attempt as dangerous. Sensible, however, of his own superiority, he allotted only one ship for this enterprise, and gave the command to Pedro Attaida. Scarce were the Portuguese prepared for the engagement, when the ship appeared, while the zamorin waited the event with earnest impatience. Attaida instantly bore down upon her, till his guns could bear with effect; and opening upon the Ceylonese, killed a number of the men before they were near enough to do him any damage, and compelled them to endeavour to save themselves by flight. Night coming on, they escaped into the harbour of Cananore; but finding they had not eluded the pursuit of the Portuguese, they again put to sea, and the engagement being renewed, they were forced into the harbour of

Calicut

Calicut, and secured. This engagement gave the zamorin a very exalted idea of the bravery of the Portuguese, who with one small ship attacked another of six times the magnitude and number of men; and he lavishly published his sentiments on the occasion.

That malice, which had always been rankling in the breasts of the Arabians against the Portuguese, was now exacerbated by envy. They waited on the emperor in a body, and with affected zeal, represented the concern they felt at seeing his majesty's partiality for the strangers, while he evinced little regard for those, whose long-tried fidelity and support had entitled them to his entire confidence. They insinuated, that the Portuguese must infallibly be pirates; as it was impossible the fair profits of trade could enable them to take such distant voyages. They boldly affirmed, that it was the design of the new comers to take possession of the city and plunder the country; that their factory would soon be converted to a fort; and, in fine, if his majesty was determined to give such a distinguished preference to the Portuguese, it was their own intention to remove to some other town on the coast of Malabar, and carry their commerce with them.

The suggestions of these merchants, though originating from spite, have partly been verified by succeeding events. The factory has too often been converted into a fort; and the simple natives have fallen victims to the avarice or ambition of ungrateful Europeans, whom they were eager to oblige. On recording the establishment of the first factory in India, we feel the full force of this reflection. How much misery has the

thirst for monopoly, or the love of conquest, spread over some of the most fertile countries of the earth !

The zamorin, to pacify the importunity of the Arabians, assured them of his invariable friendship, and that he would not desert their interests. He observed, that he was desirous of trying the courage of the Portuguese in the late conflict, and that it was for his own advantage and that of his country to encourage their commercial intercourse. The merchants were far from being satisfied with those reasons ; and were more irritated against the Portuguese than ever. They publicly opposed them, as far as they dared, in the purchase of spices ; and though the emperor himself had engaged that the fleet should be laden in twenty days, three months elapsed before two ships had laid in their full complement.

The admiral naturally suspected that this delay could not arise but from the consent or connivance of the zamorin, and therefore sent to complain that, contrary to the professions which had been made, the Arabian ships were supplied with great facility and expedition, while the Portuguese had constant impediments thrown in their way. This remonstrance roused the emperor to assert his authority ; he expressed his astonishment, that the Arabs should dare to disobey his commands, by a clandestine purchase of spices, and ordered that the Portuguese should have their lading completed out of the stores accumulated by them, paying, however, a fair price for what was thus wrested out of the hands of the eastern merchants.

This act of sovereign power gave the Arabians the opportunity which they long wished for, of coming

coming to an open rupture with the Portuguese. Immediately, one of the principal persons among them began publicly to take in his lading, and, the better to succeed in his scheme, formed a cabal with some of his countrymen, and such of the natives as were most friendly to the new interest, who persuaded the factor, that it was his duty, in conformity to the imperial mandate, to seize these spices. Correa, caught by this specious advice, recommended to the admiral to capture the ship. At first he declined it, apprehensive of the consequences: but, on reiterated applications, and the factor engaging to answer for any danger that might arise, De Cabral sent to inform the captain that he must not depart without his permission. But the Arabians, as was concerted among them, disregarding this threat, the admiral commanded his officers to arm the boats, and tow the vessel, which was under sail, back again into the harbour. The owner, a person of great wealth and influence, highly enraged at this proceeding, though he had planned it, assembled his friends and adherents, and repairing to the palace, grievously complaining, that the Portuguese, after having amassed more spices and drugs than they had, were yet discontented, and, like robbers and pirates, wished to seize the whole. They therefore demanded permission to redress themselves, and to execute revenge for the injury. The resolution of the zamorin, which had constantly been fluctuating, now gave way to these representations; and he intimated that they might satisfy themselves.

This fatal compliance with their wishes being obtained, they hastened back to assault the factory. The walls of this building were ten feet

high, and, at this time, seventy men, including the friars, were within its bounds; but, exclusive of their swords, they had only a few cross bows. A small party of Arabs at first advancing, the Portuguese hoped to be able to defend their gates. But the numbers of the assailants rapidly increasing, and the Portuguese having already lost five men, with difficulty shut their gates, and betook themselves to the walls with their crossbows. Correa perceiving that the enemy amounted to four hundred men, and that they were countenanced by several naires, hoisted a flag of distress.

The admiral being indisposed, immediately sent Sancho de Toar, with all the boats and a strong detachment to the relief of the factory; but this officer thought it dangerous to land in the face of such an enemy, or even to approach too near the shore. Meanwhile many of the besieged being wounded with an incessant shower of arrows and spears, and perceiving the Arabs preparing their battering engines, they resolved to abandon the factory by a door opening to the water side; but the enemy pressed them so closely, that only twenty escaped. The greatest part of the wounded died; and fifty were either killed or taken prisoners on the spot. Among the former was Ayres Correa. The son of that gentleman, a boy about eleven years of age, who afterwards was renowned for his bravery and resolution, was saved by the persevering efforts of a sailor, who swam with him on board. The merchandise lost on this occasion amounted to four thousand ducats.

The admiral was at once impressed with grief and fired with resentment; and finding no apology

logy was sent by the zamorin, resolved on a severe revenge. He therefore gave orders for attacking ten large Arabian vessels in the harbour; and after an obstinate conflict, and the destruction of many of the attacked, the ships were captured, and the surviving Arabs compelled to serve as sailors. Three elephants were found in the prizes, which were killed and salted for provisions, which began to grow scarce. The spices and other goods were then taken out, and the ships burned in the sight of their owners and partizans. While this was transacting, the inhabitants ran up and down the city of Calicut, in the greatest consternation and dismay, being terrified at the sight of the flames, and the unexpected issue of the contest.

Here revenge ought to have stopped, and surely justice was satisfied; but the admiral meditated more. He ordered his ships to spread along the shore, and advance with their boats before them as near it as possible. The ordnance then began to play on the town with great fury and with much execution, both among the houses and the citizens, who crowding together, to avoid or repel the danger, fell thick at every shot. Several of the temples were demolished; the palace of the zamorin was much injured; and the sovereign himself, who fled in the general terror, narrowly escaped a bullet from one of the boats, which killed a naire close behind him.

Towards evening the cannonading ceased, and after an ineffectual attempt to secure some ships that were making for the port, the admiral pursued his voyage to Cochin, in order to settle a factory there, and in his passage took two Arabian ships.

Such was the serious commencement of hostilities between the Europeans and the Indians; and the effusion of blood has at intervals continued for ages. The natives of the east have sometimes had their revenge, by seeing their country and its produce set the aggressors against one another; but surely trade might have been carried on without violence, or encroachment on the sacred rights of the aboriginal inhabitants.

De Cabral arrived before the city of Cochin on the 20th of December. This place is situated on a river about 19 leagues south of Calicut, and has a safe capacious port: the land within is low and broken into many islands. The houses here were built after the same fashion as at Calicut, and were inhabited by Pagans and Arabs. The territory being small and barren, provisions were by no means plentiful; but there was an abundance of pepper. The king, whose name was Trimumpara, was tributary to the Emperor of Calicut, and consequently was not rich; but the conduct of the Portuguese to a superior, by whom he was oppressed, gave him a strong partiality in their favour.

The admiral, having anchored, dispatched an Indian convert, named Michael Joghi, to the king, to announce his arrival, and to explain what had happened at Calicut. He farther desired leave to trade for spices and other commodities, either in exchange for merchandise or money.

The messenger was one of the sect of the Bramins who affect the utmost contempt for sensual enjoyments, and attempt to please the Deity by austerities more than human. This person was converted to Christianity, and behaved with great

great integrity. He returned with a very polite and civil answer from his majesty, who expressed his joy at the arrival of the Portuguese: and immediately dispatched two of his principal naires as hostages, on condition that they might be changed every day, because, by the customs of the country, should they once eat on ship-board, they can never more appear in the presence of royalty.

The admiral, pleased with this auspicious beginning, appointed Gonzalo Gil Barbisa his factor, and gave him a clerk, an interpreter, and four exiles as servants.

Some of the principal officers of state immediately conducted the factor to court; but here was none of the magnificence and grandeur of Calicut. The prince himself was indifferently clad; the walls of his palace were without hangings, and were furnished with seats railed in, where the king sat without any external pomp. As soon as the factor was introduced, he presented a silver washing bowl, full of saffron, a silver ewer, with rose water, and some branches of coral. The king accepted the present with apparent pleasure, thanked the admiral in whose name it had been offered; and having conversed some time with the factor, commanded that he and his retinue should be well accommodated.

The admiral was averse to trusting more men on shore, apprehensive of the misfortunes which attended his factory at Calicut; but the event showed, that mistrust was here unnecessary. The kind usage the Portuguese experienced, the dispatch with which the ships were laden, and the frank alertness with which the natives rendered them assistance, showed that the professions of the prince were the sentiments of his heart.

The

The lading being completed; while the admiral was on shore, he received a visit from two Indian Christians, brothers, who expressed their wish to sail to Portugal, in order to visit Rome and Jerusalem. These Christians were denominated from St. Thomas, who having preached the gospel in the East, suffered martyrdom near Madras. Cabral interrogated them whether they belonged to the Latin or Greek church, and if the country from whence they came was wholly peopled with Christians. One of them replied, that the inhabitants were a mixture of Christians, Jews, Pagans, and Mahometans, from Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Arabia; that the Christians were subject to a tribute, and had a quarter of the city to themselves, in which they were indulged with a church; but it had neither crosses, images, nor bells. He farther said, that they had their own pope, under whom were twelve cardinals, and two patriarchs, with many archbishops and bishops, who resided in Armenia; to which place all the clergy resorted for orders, and to obtain institution to their cures or dignities, the jurisdiction of the pope extending over India and Catay. That the two patriarchs resided in those provinces, and the bishops were dispersed in the different cities throughout this immense extent. He added, that their supreme head was called Catholicos, and that their tonsure was made in the form of a cross.

The admiral having heard this detail, readily granted their request of conveying them to Portugal. Soon after this, messengers arrived from the kings of Cananore and Coulan, inviting the Portuguese to come and trade in their ports, where spices should be furnished on the most advantageous

vantageous terms. The admiral returned his acknowledgments, but declined accepting their obliging invitations, having already completed his cargo; but promised to visit them on his return to the Indies.

While the Portuguese were thus amicably treated at Cochin, the zamorin had been active in preparing to revenge the destruction of his capital. A fleet of twenty-five large ships, besides a number of smaller ones, appeared on the coast, when the king of Cochin, being informed of the design of this armament, immediately gave the requisite information to the admiral, and offered him all the assistance in his power. He stated that there were fifteen thousand men on board, and seemed apprehensive of the consequences, from such an evident disparity of numbers. De Cabral returned his majesty his most grateful thanks; but assured him that he should be able to make the zamorin repent of his temerity; and having prepared his ships for an engagement, sailed directly to meet the enemy.

A storm arising, and the wind proving contrary, he was obliged to return, but next day proceeded again in quest of the foe. However, one of his best ships, that commanded by Sancho de Toar, being missing, he judged it advisable to abandon his design of an attack, and to steer homewards. The Calicut fleet pursued him for a day; but were soon sensible they could not overtake him. Thus prevented from returning to Cochin, as he had proposed, he carried off the hostages, contrary to the laws of nations; and in a manner which left the stigma of ingratitude on himself. The miserable men abstained from food for five days; but afterwards being pressed by
the

the admiral to eat, were at last reconciled to their situation.

The missing ship having joined, they arrived on the coast of Cananore, where the king repeated his invitation, which induced the admiral to enter the port. The city of Cananore is very large, and is situated thirty-one leagues to the north of Cochin. The bay forms a commodious harbour, and the houses are earth, covered with flates. The surrounding country produces ginger, cardamums, cassia, myrabolans, and tamarinds, and all the necessaries of life. The lakes are full of alligators; and we are gravely told, by the original narrator of this voyage, that the adders are so venomous as to kill with their breath. In natural history most of the ancient voyagers are miserably deficient; and while they indulge in the wonderful, they sacrifice science and truth. This we should frequently have occasion to remark, were it our wish to make remarks on absurdities now exploded, and which can only be mentioned to excite a smile.

The king of this territory was one of the three independent princes of Malabar, but less opulent than the Zamorin of Calicut or the King of Coulan. Here the admiral shipped four hundred quintals of cinnamon and some ginger; but the king suspecting that the small quantity he bought arose from a deficiency in pecuniary resources, occasioned from the losses he had sustained at Calicut, sent in a most generous manner, to offer credit for whatever he might please to have. De Cabral, having returned merited thanks, was unwilling to leave the king with impressions of his poverty; and to convince his majesty of his resources, showed the messenger a large sum of

3

money

money, and assured him that his ships being already laden was the real reason of his declining larger purchases at present.

So friendly was this king, that he sent an ambassador to his Portuguese Majesty to cement the intercourse which had just begun. De Cabral now weighed from Cananore, and proceeded to cross the sea that separates India from Africa. In this passage he took a large ship; but finding she belonged to Cambaya, dismissed her with assurances, that his Portuguese Majesty was at war in India with none but the Zamorin of Calicut, and the Arabians of Mecca, from whom he had suffered indignities that demanded an adequate retaliation.

As they were approaching the African shore, a terrible storm arose, in which the ship commanded by Sancho de Toar, one of the best in the fleet, was driven on a bank, and stuck fast. The crew and cargo were saved, and distributed among the other vessels; after which she was burned, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. Notwithstanding this precaution, the King of Mombassa, by much industry, found means to recover the great guns, which he esteemed a most valuable treasure. The tempest still continuing, they passed Melinda without being able to bring to, and at last reached Mosambique, where they found it necessary to refit the ships.

This being accomplished, De Toar was dispatched to examine the coast of Sofala, while the admiral proceeded on his voyage; and having doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 22d of May, arrived at Lisbon on the last day of July 1501, without any other material occurrence.

This expedition had met with many disasters, and encountered a variety of difficulties. Of all the ships only six returned, among which was De Poar, who safely reached Lisbon in a few days after the admiral.

SECOND VOYAGE
OF
VASQUEZ DE GAMA,
TO THE
EAST INDIES.

THE Portuguese, anxious to reap the earliest possible fruits of their discoveries, exerted all their spirit and activity for this purpose. Before the arrival of De Cabral, Juan de Neuva, a native of Galicia, and a most accomplished seaman, had been sent out with another fleet to the East. His orders were to touch at Sofala, then at Quiloa, and from thence to proceed to Calicut; and if he found De Cabral there, to put himself and his Squadron under the command of that admiral. De Neuva having found a letter at San Blas, giving an account how matters stood at Calicut and Cochin, acted with the necessary caution. He arrived safe at Cochin, and found that the king was highly and deservedly incensed against De Cabral for carrying away the hostages, and that the Moors and merchants had taken every step to prejudice his majesty against the Portuguese. He had, however, given the factory some degree of protection; but without money no spices were to be procured at this

place. De Neuva being only furnished with commodities which he was to exchange, was obliged to proceed to Cananore; but here too the Portuguese commodities were in too little estimation to procure a lading; and had not the king become sponsor for a cargo, the ships must have returned empty.

The zamorin, hearing that his enemies were on the coast, fitted out a powerful armament to attack them while they lay at Cananore. De Neuva, not intimidated by numbers, steered into the middle of the bay, and ordered his ships to pour in broadsides in all directions, if the Indian fleet advanced. A cannonade commenced before the enemy could approach near enough to use their missile weapons, and many of their ships were sunk without doing the least injury to the Portuguese. This unequal combat could not last long. A flag of truce was hung out by the Indians, and after some ineffectual artifices to entrap the Europeans, they returned to Calicut, baffled in all their aims. De Neuva having taken in his lading, returned to Portugal with all his ships. After his departure a message was brought to Cananore from the zamorin, to excuse his former conduct; and offering sufficient pledges for their security, should the Portuguese be disposed to renew their traffic.

This short sketch of a voyage, not very important in itself, is a necessary link in the chain of transactions.

De Cabral, having made it appear incontestibly evident, that without the application of force, it would be impossible to form settlements in India, his Portuguese Majesty sent out three squadrons in March 1502; the first of ten ships, under

under the celebrated Vazquez de Gama ; the second of five under Vincent de Sodre ; and the third of as many, under Stephen de Gama. The whole was to be subordinate to Vazquez, to whom the king delivered the flag with great solemnity in the cathedral, and conferred on him the title of Admiral of the Eastern Seas. With him returned the ambassadors of Cochin and Cananore, who had been much distinguished and caressed at court. The two first squadrons set sail in March, the other followed about the beginning of May.

Off Cape Vern, the admiral fell in with a ship for Lisbon, richly laden with gold, which De Gama displayed to the Indian ambassadors as a proof of the rich resources of his country. They candidly confessed, that this did not accord with the representations of the Venetian ambassador in Portugal ; for that he had given them to understand, that without the assistance of the Venetians, the Portuguese were too poor to put ships to sea. This mode of supplanting their new rivals in the commerce of the East was not very honourable ; but where is honour to be found, when interest stands in the way ?

De Gama doubled the Cape without any remarkable occurrence, and then proceeded with four of his smallest vessels for Sofala, while the rest continued their voyage to Mosambique. The king's orders were, to observe the situation of Sofala, its convenience for erecting a fort, and to examine the gold of the country. Having entered into an amicable treaty with the king, he obtained permission to erect a fort ; and mutual presents were exchanged. This transaction occupied twenty-five days, and the admiral took

his leave with much satisfaction at having accomplished his object ; but in turning out of the river, had the misfortune to lose one of his ships.

Having reached Mosambique, where part of his fleet had preceded him, he struck up a league with the king, who had manifested so much reluctance to it in his former voyage ; and farther, obtained permission to establish a factory : the object of which was, to furnish a depot of provisions for ships going and returning from India.

On the 12th of July he arrived at Quiloa ; and in revenge for the ill usage experienced by De Cabral, determined to compel the king to become tributary to Portugal. Ibrahim, through fear, rather than respect, waited on him, as soon as he arrived ; when De Gama, knowing his perfidious disposition, threatened to confine him under the hatches, unless he immediately stipulated to pay a tribute to his royal master. The captive prince had now no alternative. He engaged to advance two thousand miticals of gold yearly ; but with his accustomed duplicity, gave as his pledge a wealthy Moor, named Mahomet, whom he mortally hated, and was happy to get rid of. Ibrahim being liberated on these conditions, no sooner found himself safe on shore, than he renounced his engagement ; not so much to save the money, as to provoke the admiral to destroy his security ; and the Moor finding himself trapped, was glad to purchase his freedom by paying the tribute himself.

Having here formed a junction with the rest of the fleet, the admiral recommenced his voyage, and passing Melinda, watered in a large bay about eight leagues distance, where he captured several ships. On reaching the coast of India,

he

he fell in with a large vessel belonging to the Sultan of Egypt, which was richly laden, and had many principal Moors on board, who were going on a pilgrimage to Mecca. This ship he took after a vigorous resistance; and going on board, commanded the Moors to produce their merchandize, on pain of being thrown into the sea. They pretended that all their effects were left at Calicut; but one of them having been bound hand and foot, and thrown overboard, the rest were so intimidated at this dreadful example, that they produced their property. The children were then carried into the admiral's ship, and the remainder of the plunder distributed among the soldiers. Not satisfied with this, the vessel, with all her passengers, was ordered to be set on fire. But the Moors having broken up the hatches, under which they were confined, and quenched the flames, which began to rage around them, Stephen de Gama was ordered to lay them on board. Desperate with the imminence of their danger, the passengers received him with great resolution, and even attempted to burn the other ships. Night coming on, gave a respite to this work of horror; but so inveterate was the rage of De Gama, that he ordered the ship to be closely watched, that none might, by the favour of the darkness, escape to the shore and elude his vengeance. During this dreadful night, the poor Moors, with unavailing prayers, invoked the assistance of the prophet. The morning found the admiral relentless and unpitying. His brother boarded the vessel, and setting fire to it, drove the Moors, who still made an ineffectual struggle, into the poop. Some of the sailors disdained to quit the ship till she was

half consumed ; and the Moors, when the flames were rapidly approaching them, leaped into the sea with hatchets, and swimming, attacked their inhuman pursuers. To finish this melancholy tale, of three hundred persons, among whom were thirty women, not one escaped the fire, the sword, or the waves. Can humanity read this without a tear ! can Christianity hear it without a blush ! These victims of unprovoked cruelty will one day be heard at an impartial tribunal, where all the fame of De Gama, and all the Indies, could he possess them, would be given to silence their voice !

The admiral having reached Cananore, sent to acquaint the king that he desired a conference with him. To facilitate this interview, a wooden bridge was constructed, reaching a great way into the sea, and spread with carpets. At the end of the bridge, towards land, was a house of wood, likewise furnished with carpets. The king arrived first, attended by an immense body of naires, trumpets sounding, and other instruments of music playing before him. Soon after came the admiral, accompanied by all the boats of the fleet, bearing flags, and furnished with a band ; and was landed under a discharge of ordnance. Before him were carried two silver basons, gilt, covered with pieces of coral, and other valued articles in the Indies. At the head of the bridge he was received by several naires ; and the king meeting him at the door of the house, embraced him, and they walked together to the room of audience, where two chairs of state were placed, on one of which his majesty sat down, a mark of the highest respect to the admiral, according to the etiquette of the country.

At

At this audience a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded, and a factory granted at Cannanore. Having laden some of the ships here, he directed his course to Calicut.

When De Gama arrived in that port, he took several proas before it was discovered who he was; but forebore all hostilities against the place, till he should be able to ascertain the zamorin's disposition and designs. In a short time a boat came off carrying a flag of truce, with a Moor disguised as a Franciscan friar, who being taken on board, apologized for the deception of his dress, and owned it was assumed from the hope of a ready reception among the Portuguese. He brought a message from the zamorin in relation to the amicable adjustment of a treaty of commerce. The admiral, with firmness replied, that any negotiation of this kind would be premature, till the king had made satisfaction for the destruction of the factory, to which he was consenting.

Several days were spent in fruitless messages and replies. De Gama, suspecting that the only object of the zamorin was to gain time, sent to assure him, that if he did not receive a final and satisfactory answer before noon, he would carry fire and sword into the country, and would begin to execute his vengeance on the prisoners in his possession. The zamorin, irresolute in himself, and under the influence of the Moors, returned no answer. But no sooner was the stipulated time expired, than De Gama fired a gun by way of signal to his captains, to hang up all the Malabars in their respective ships. When this sanguinary execution was over, the admiral ordered the hands and feet of the victims to be
stru

struck off, and sent on shore to the zamorin, with a letter in Arabic, giving him to understand, that such returns he must expect for his perfidy and artifice; and that he would have satisfaction an hundred fold for the injuries and indignities that had been offered to the Portuguese.

Without farther ceremony, he ordered three ships to advance, in the night, as close as possible to the shore; and next morning they began to batter the town, which was soon a heap of ruins.

Having glutted his revenge at Calicut, he departed for Cochin, leaving Vincent de Sodre, with six ships, to scour the coast and intercept the Moorish trade. No sooner had the admiral arrived at Cochin, than Trimumpara sent hostages on board; and personally waited for him on the shore. At this interview De Gama delivered the King of Portugal's letter and presents. The Prince of Cochin received both with expressions of pleasure; assigned a house for the use of the factory, and fixed the rates at which spices were to be delivered. This agreement was reduced to writing, and signed by Trimumpara. In return for the Portuguese presents, which were very costly, consisting of a gold crown and collar, a rich pavilion, and other valuable articles; he sent to his brother Emanuel two gold bracelets set with jewels, a Moorish sash for the head, of silver tissue, two large pieces of the finest calico, and a stone about the size of a walnut, reputed an antidote against poison, which was deemed a valuable rarity.

While De Gama lay at Cochin, a messenger arrived from the zamorin, to acquaint him, that he would return to Calicut, every thing should be

be settled to his satisfaction. The deputy was put in confinement, that he might be punished in case of any new deceit. Having got this hostage for his own security, the admiral, contrary to the advice of all his captains, determined to proceed without convoy to Calicut: observing, that in case of danger, he had the ships of De Sodre to retreat to.

Being come into the road, the zamorin sent to inform him, that next day every thing should be concluded betwixt them; and perhaps at the moment he spoke as he intended. But when once a propensity to trick and cunning gains an ascendancy over the mind, every opportunity of displaying it is embraced with avidity, and the obliquities of deceit are preferred to the straight road of honour. De Gama was perceived to be unprotected, having left his ships behind him. This induced the zamorin to have recourse again to violence. He sent out thirty proas to take the admiral; and so sudden and unexpected was this attack, that he was obliged to cut his cables and save himself by flight.

Provoked with reason at so many repeated instances of treachery and duplicity, he ordered the messenger, in confinement, to be hanged, on his return to Cochin. At this the zamorin expressed great concern; but finding that he in vain plotted against a man whose superior address or force always brought him off safe, he resolved to turn his batteries another way, and to attempt to influence the King of Cochin against admitting the Portuguese into his ports. With this view, he dispatched a letter to the tributary prince, in which he depicted the Europeans as robbers and pirates, and represented the danger of encourag-

ing them, as well as the displeasure it gave him. Trimumpara replied, that as they brought money into his dominions, it was for his interest to encourage them; and that the zamorin would not be willing, at his bare request, to abandon his old friends the Moors. To this the zamorin rejoined, that he was sorry to find the King of Cochin preferred the friendship of strangers to his; and threatened the consequences of a partiality so unjust.

The king of Cochin gave him to understand, that he disregarded his menaces, and that he would never do a base or perfidious action through fear. Of this correspondence, De Gama knew nothing till he was about to take his leave of Cochin; when the king informed him of what had passed, and declared he would run all risks in the service of the Portuguese. De Gama, with many expressions of gratitude, assured him, that his royal master would never be unmindful of such steady faith; and, in the name of his sovereign, he engaged not only to defend the prince, but even to enable him to vanquish his enemies, and extend his dominions on their ruins. This declaration inspired the king with new confidence; and even his naires, if they still retained some prejudices against the Portuguese, began to dread the consequences of their enmity.

The admiral, soon after sailing from Cochin, descried a fleet of twenty-nine large ships, fitted out by the zamorin to attack him. He immediately bore down to give them battle; and with so much vigour did the Portuguese assail the foe, that in a short time, many of them deserting their ships, sought refuge in the waves; while

others crowded sail, and made the shore, where, on account of the shoals, they knew the admiral could not pursue them. Many of the Moors were killed, and two ships were taken, richly laden with China-ware, silver vessels, gilt, and other costly merchandise. But the most remarkable article on board, was a monstrous image of gold, weighing thirty pounds. Its eyes were emeralds; and it was partially covered with a drapery of beaten gold, curiously wrought, and set with brilliants. On the breast of this idol was a large ruby of the most resplendent lustre.

De Gama next proceeded to Cananore, where he obtained a house for the erection of a factory; and having regulated the price of spices according to the standard fixed on at Cochin, he left twenty-four men to superintend the trade. The two nations stipulated to defend each other; and the King of Cananore was not to enter into any alliance inimical to the interests of the King of Cochin. This being settled, the admiral commissioned De Sodre to remain on the coast till February; and if, in the interim, there was a probability of a war breaking out between the zamorin and the King of Cochin, he should winter in the latter place; if not, he was then to sail for the Red Sea, and capture all the ships from Mecca he found in his way. These directions De Sodre did not live to execute in their full extent, being lost in a sudden storm, which the natives, judging from accustomed prognostics, had warned him to avoid.

On the 20th of December, the admiral left the coast of India, in his way to Portugal, having thirteen ships under his conduct; and first touched at Mosambique. Near Cape Corientes, he

experienced contrary winds and sudden squalls, but nothing particularly impeding his voyage, he arrived at Cascais on the 1st of September, where several noblemen met him with their congratulations, and conducted him to court. As he approached his sovereign, a page preceded him carrying a silver bason with the tribute of the King of Quiloa. King Emanuel gave the admiral a most gracious reception, and conferred on him the title of Count Videgneyra.

His great services certainly merited every honour and distinction from a grateful country; but his laurels are tarnished by excesses of severity, sometimes unprovoked, and frequently disproportioned to the offence.

GENERAL VIEW
OF THE
PROGRESS AND THE DECLINE
OF THE
PORTUGUESE INTEREST
IN THE
EAST INDIES.

HAVING traced the Portuguese from discovery to war, from trade to the attempt at conquest, we shall briefly narrate their future proceedings. This will be absolutely necessary to gratify the inquisitive mind, which delights in being able to connect events; but a particular detail would only disgust. The same enormities, which disgraced the Spaniards after the discovery of America, seem to attach on the characters of the Portuguese: they pursued the same avaricious ends by the same sanguinary means; and without allowing either nation the superiority in infamy, we shall permit them to divide the unenvied palm.

In one respect, however, they differ. The power of the Spaniards gradually increased in America; that of the Portuguese rose like a me-

teor, spread devastation through immense regions, and then sunk into insignificance and contempt.

The Eustatian character, at first so conspicuous for bravery, soon tainted by the luxury of the East, not only sunk into effeminacy but the most abject vices, and tempted new adventurers to seize what was held with such a feeble hand, or enabled the natives to reassume their original independence.

But to return, after the progress the Portuguese had made in India, both by negotiation and force, it seemed necessary to nominate a proper person to be intrusted with the care and management of their interests in this part of the globe; and as one of those who had already been in the country was deemed most fit, the confidence of the court of Lisbon was placed on Alphonso Albuquerque, an able navigator and a prudent commander. On his arrival in the East, after De Gama had left it for the second time, he found the trade in such a flourishing state, from the connections already formed, that he thought it expedient to gain a more permanent establishment on the coast, and such an one as might be naturally strong, and conveniently situated. For this purpose, after some previous conquests, he fixed on Goa, a city near the centre of the coast of Malabar. It seemed to unite all the advantages which he wished for; superior salubrity of the air, one of the finest harbours in the world, and a facility of fortification to render it secure from attack. The city stands on an island separated from the continent by a river, which, dividing into two branches, surrounds it; while the houses rise from the level of the water in the
form

form of an amphitheatre. No place could be better adapted for an extensive trade than this; and to power, whatever seems desirable, is generally considered as lawful.

This island and city, which belonged to the kingdom of Deccan, were then in the possession of Idalcan, an usurper, who had endeavoured to render himself independent of his sovereign; and was at this time meditating to extend his power still farther in Malabar. Being at this time absent, in prosecuting schemes of aggrandizement, Albuquerque took advantage of it; and regarding Goa as much the right of one usurper as another, made a sudden attack, and carried the place without loss or difficulty.

But Idalcan hearing of this invasion soon flew to his capital; and the Portuguese being in want of provisions and other necessaries to stand a siege, Goa again fell into the hands of its former possessor; but was almost as speedily recovered by Albuquerque, who had received reinforcements from Cochin.

The Portuguese next turned their attention to the conquest of Malacca; their usual success attended them in this enterprise; and they established factories here and among the Banda Isles, and extended their settlements from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulph. And exclusive of the absolute command of the islands, they were complete masters of the coasts of both the peninsulas of India.

Through this vast track their authority was undisputed, and their power unlimited: their trade was neither disturbed by individuals, nor the rights they had assumed invaded by natives. To

the former indeed they sometimes affected to grant licences, but they restricted them to particular articles, both of import and export; and retained to themselves the privilege of supplying all the markets of Europe with such commodities as were easiest of conveyance, and produced the most considerable profit. Thus the commerce of the east was diverted from the channel in which it had so long flowed; and Portugal rose to opulence and respect on the decline of Venice and Genoa. Nothing can more powerfully prove the fluctuating nature of trade than this change; and though to the present day, the extension, or the monopoly of commerce is the pride of nations, and the frequent cause of their destruction, they have yet to learn what is solid and permanent wealth, and in what their true glory and grandeur consists.

In the acquisition of riches and power, the Portuguese, like all other nations whom history has recorded, forgot that the means by which wealth and dominion are obtained, must be exerted for their preservation. They grow wanton with success and intoxicated with affluence. They ruled over the wretched natives with a severity, which, too often, degenerated into the most inhuman cruelty; they prostituted the sacred name of religion, to the basest and most unworthy purposes; established inquisitions to punish, where they had no right to use more than the mild instruments of conviction; and plundered the unhappy victims of their avarice, under the pretence of rendering honour to that God, whose laws they sacrilegiously violated. Bigotry, which rises in proportion to the dereliction

dereliction of principle, made them first contemptible, and then criminal.

As they grew more completely vicious, they also became sunk in effeminacy. They stored their seraglios, like the princes of the east; and when satiated with enjoyment, forced the victims of their inordinate passions to betake themselves to the most slavish employments, and to yield to their cruel masters the produce of their labours. They copied all the excesses of the people they had subdued; indulged themselves in the Asiatic pleasures of singing and dancing girls, the only part of the natives which they did not involve in indiscriminate oppression; they learned to recline on sofas, and to be carried in palanquins; and at last carried on war in that luxurious and dissipated manner which had enabled themselves to subdue the aboriginal inhabitants.

The natural consequence of such depravity was, the contempt of the natives among whom they had established themselves: at first they were the objects of terror; at last they became the butts of ridicule. The natives, deprived of luxurious indulgencies, began to recover their natural energies, and they meditated to expel the invaders. Rising in resolution, as the Portuguese sunk in effeminacy, they actually attacked one of their principal settlements; but by the vigorous conduct of Don Juan de Castro, who had now succeeded to the chief command of the Portuguese forces in India, they were repulsed; and the dying embers of European spirit seemed, for a time, to revive, and to dispel the enervating fumes of Asian luxury.

But this gleam was of short duration; the gloom returned with deeper shades; for no sooner

sooner was the storm blown over, than they relapsed into the same inglorious and inactive state, from which they were only roused, when the calls of an insatiable avarice prompted them to the commission of every crime, disgraceful to human nature.

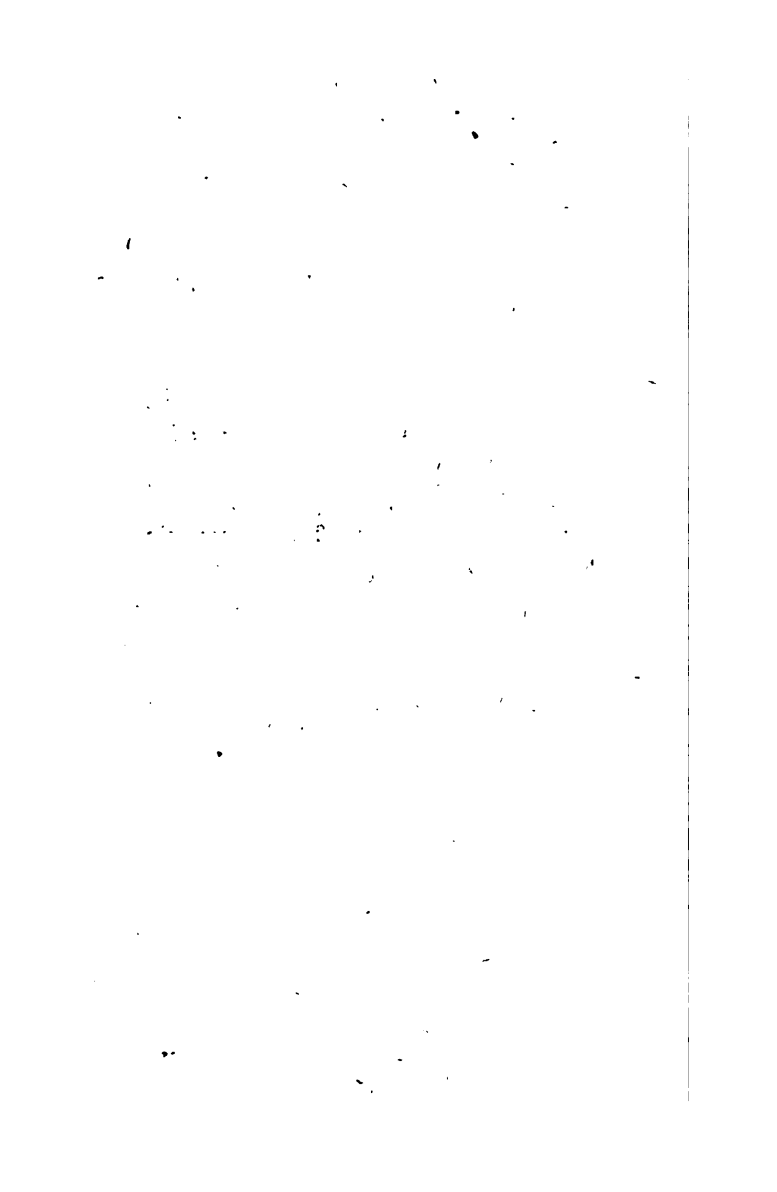
Nor did they confine these depredations to the natives. Though these undoubtedly were the greatest sufferers, because the least capable of protecting themselves, the intoxicated Portuguese at last preyed on each other, the strong on the weak; and the same brutal lust of wealth, which stimulated them to torment and murder the inoffensive Indians, tempted them to lay violent hands on each other. The vices of individuals corrupted the state; crimes of the blackest dye tinged the resolutions of cabinets, and the conduct of commanders; and the successors to power began the first practice of their authority on their immediate predecessors, in order to extort from them that wealth, which they had amassed by means nefarious indeed, but which their followers intended most religiously to copy.

While the manners of the Portuguese were in this degenerate state, the natives now united a second time to extirpate their detested tyrants. The court of Lisbon, on this, dispatched Ataide from Europe with succours and unlimited power, who for a while repelled the attacks of the exasperated natives. But though they failed in their attempt on Goa, which had been made the capital, they succeeded in depriving the Portuguese of many of their less important possessions; and other nations of Europe, not yet so obnoxious to the inhabitants of Indostan, appearing on its coasts, the first occupiers gradually lost their consequence;

sequence; and many of their remaining settlements were wrested from them by the Christian powers.

The only remains of the mighty conquests of Portugal, in the eastern quarter of the globe, are Goa, where a viceroy still resides and keeps up the shadow of the ancient splendor of government, Macao, Diu, Daman, and Bassaim. These at present are very insignificant places; and the advantages arising from them inconsiderable, in the great scale of trade, now carried on between the different parts of Europe and the empire of Indostan.

The British at this time are unrivalled lords of the continent; but with whom, in the tide of events, the power may next reside, belongs only to Omniscience to determine.



THE VOYAGE
OF
FERDINAND MAGELLAN,
ROUND THE WORLD.

AMONG those illustrious navigators who have shown originality of conception and boldness of resolution, Ferdinand Magellan will always retain a distinguished place. Contemporary with Columbus and De Gama, he appears to have been animated with the same spirit, and to have deserved to participate in the laurels they won.

He was a native of Portugal, born a gentleman, and bred a soldier. He had served in the Indian as well as African wars with credit to himself, and honour to his king; being particularly employed in those expeditions which succeeded De Gama's discovery, and which at length terminated in the reduction of Malacca, Goa, and Ormutz, under the dominion of Portugal.

Columbus went in search of a passage which he never found, and found what he little expected. The passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean was still a desideratum in navigation; and Vasquez de Nunez de Balboa having discovered the last-mentioned sea from the mountains of Panama, Magellan conceived the idea of the circumnavigation of the globe, which at that time was not generally allowed to be round.

This grand idea, as it may be justly called, when we consider the age, he communicated to his court; but being slighted in that particular, and, as it is said, denied the small augmentation of half a ducat a month to his pay, he resolved to quit Portugal, and seek his fortune in other countries.

The court of Spain had, so much signalized itself by success in discoveries, and the encouragement it gave to adventurers, that Magellan naturally turned his thoughts that way. Charles V. one of the most powerful princes that ever lived, and in whose extensive dominions the sun never set, at that time filled the throne of Spain. To him, therefore, this officer applied; and, to forward his views, did not fail to represent, that all the Banda and Molucca Islands must of right, according to the papal decree, belong to him; and these he proposed to discover by a western navigation.

This project, which had for its object the extension of dominion, as well as the returns of valuable commerce, was peculiarly acceptable to Charles. Without hesitation, he gave orders for making the necessary preparations, with as much expedition as circumstances would allow. Nor did the emperor stop here: he conferred the order of St. Jago on Magellan and his companion, Ruy Falero, as a spur to this arduous undertaking. The Portuguese ambassador made strong opposition to this scheme; nor were there wanting some courtiers, who, envious of Magellan's honours, threw every impediment they could in the way of his expedition. He received and submitted to many insults on account of his country; and when all was just ready for the embarkation, his

his hopes had nearly been frustrated of reaping the honour of the project, by Ruy Falero contesting with him the honour of bearing the royal standard. This matter being adjusted, and his rival persuaded to remain at home on account of a precarious state of health, which was very unequal to such a distant and uncertain voyage, Magellan was invested with the sole command of this squadron, and the business proceeded.

This squadron consisted of five ships: the *St. Antonio* bearing the admiral's flag; *Juan de Cartagena*, vice admiral; the *St. Jago*, commanded by *Juan Roderiquez Serrano*; and the *Conception*, *Gaspar de Quesada* master, and two others. These set sail from Cadiz on the 10th of August 1517, and arriving in safety at Teneriffe on the 2d of September, sailed from thence for Rio Janeiro, on the coast of Brasil. After refreshing at this place, and taking in such necessaries as the voyage required, they pursued their course.

This course, however, was not universally agreed on. Various disputes arose about it; and some were for adopting one plan, some another. The fleet being anchored in *St. Julian's* river on Easter-day, and masts being ordered to be celebrated on shore, the three captains, *Luis de Mendoza*, *Gaspar de Quesada*, and *Juan de Cartagena*, absented themselves; a circumstance which filled the admiral with inquietude, because, from their disobedience, as well as from other previous symptoms, he had reason to suspect that a spirit of discontent pervaded the majority of his fleet. Thus, like *Columbus*, his difficulties began at an early period: because where no one knew the course with certainty, each arrogated to himself as much right to judge of it as another.

In this dilemma, to return with disgrace, was what Magellan could not brook ; to proceed was to encounter a variety of hardships, at the same time that he had every thing to apprehend from his own people. While contemplating his situation, and before he could come to any precise resolution, the weather began to grow severe, and the murmurs to increase, and a conspiracy of the three captains being strongly suspected, the admiral was induced to call his own ship's crew to arms. In the meantime, as Mendoza was reading a letter which he had received from the admiral, he was stabbed to the heart. At that instant a boat was manned with about thirty of the admiral's firmest friends, who, boarding the other ships, took forty prisoners, who were supposed to be deepest in the conspiracy. Quezada alone was sentenced to be executed, and the body of Mendoza was quartered. Thus the opposition was allayed for the time by this act of severity ; and proper measures were concerted for the fleet to proceed, as soon as the season was favourable.

In the interim, Serrano was dispatched to examine the American coast, along which they were to sail, in order to make the wished-for discovery.

If we may give credit to the Spanish accounts of this voyage, while they were thus detained on the Brazilian coast, they saw men of a gigantic stature, whose voices, when enraged, resembled bulls. One of these came on board, whose face was as frightful as his voice was terrific ; and such was his height, that an ordinary sized Spaniard could only reach to his waist. We consider this, however, as the embellishment of romance ; and are sorry to say, that this voyage, in general, bears marks of a partiality for the marvellous.

That a race above the common size exists on

this coast, we shall see confirmed by future voyagers, whose authenticity we cannot dispute; but with all this exaggeration, it seems the savage was peaceable in his deportment, and thankful for such trifling presents as he received, till the Spaniards endeavoured to put shackles on his legs to secure him; and if he then roared out like a bull, we need not wonder, since the provocation and the danger were sufficient to make him exert every faculty both of body and mind.

He was dressed in the skins of some strange wild beast; and we learn, that the people, in general, on this coast, were habited in a similar manner. They are described as ignorant and superstitious, believing that their country is haunted by evil spirits, of whose influence they are much afraid. Their weapons were bows and arrows. Their huts were constructed with skins, and portable from place to place. They devoured their meat with the voraciousness of cannibals, without seeming to know any modes of previously dressing it. They used a root, called Caper, instead of bread, and drank vast quantities of water with their meals.

The only religious ideas they seemed to possess, centred in the belief of two beings, one of whom they termed Sebetos, who seemed to be superior; and the other, whom they denominated Chelcule, a subordinate kind of deity. In this barren country, since called Patagonia, they set up a cross, and took possession with the usual solemnities.

Serrano, who, as has been mentioned before, was dispatched on an expedition to reconnoitre the coast, discovered a river about a league broad, at the entrance, to which he gave the name of Saint Clare. He spent six days in examining it,

and fishing for seals; and was afterwards exposed to a violent storm, which dashed his vessel on the shore. The crew was saved from the fury of the elements, only to suffer the extremities of famine on a barren coast. In this miserable situation, two of the people were fortunate enough to convey intelligence to the admiral, who dispatched a vessel to their assistance, and thus saved them from inevitable death.

At last, Magellan left the port of St. Julian, where he had staid so long with little satisfaction, on the 24th of August, setting Juan de Cartagena on shore, together with Pedro Sanchez Revora, the priest, for being principals in the conspiracy. This punishment was worse than a thousand deaths, as it tantalized them with life, while they were denied all its enjoyments, and even its necessaries. They were left, indeed, with a stock of provisions, but were never heard of more.

About the end of October, the fleet reached a promontory which Magellan named Cape Virgin, and, perceiving an inlet, sent to explore the coast. On receiving the different reports of the persons deputed on this expedition, a council of the chief officers and pilots was called, in which Estevan Gomez, pilot of the Antonio, declared for returning home, and was followed by all the members, the admiral only excepted, who, with a resolution bordering on madness, declared, that in spite of tempest and famine, he was resolved to persevere. The Antonio being afterwards sent to explore a nearer passage than any which they had yet a reason to expect, the above pilot, together with the purser, having stabbed the master, carried the ship home; and the admiral, aving in vain endeavoured to come up with her,

her, proceeded on his uncertain voyage. At length he fell in with the passage he had been so long in search of, in latitude 52 deg. south, and entered those straits which will make his name immortal. In a transport of joy, he named the point of land, from which he had this agreeable prospect, Port Desire. Much was now accomplished, but much remained to be done. It required all his caution and skill to sail through this new-discovered passage, and before they could enter the great South Sea, which was on the 28th of December, one year, four months, and eighteen days had elapsed, since their departure from Spain.

On this wide, and almost boundless, ocean, they wandered between three and four months without seeing land, except two desert islands. Their distresses were so great, that they were reduced to the miserable expedient of eating the hides that covered the ships' rigging, which they steeped in salt water, in order to render them more easy of mastication. To this deplorable state of famine, it is not to be wondered at, that sickness should succeed; and those who were not absolutely disabled by illness, found themselves incapable of subsisting on these hard viands, by the gums covering their teeth, by which some were starved to death. It was providential for the rest, who still were obliged to attend to the duty of the ship, that they were sailing on a placid sea, impelled by gentle breezes, from whence it was denominated the Pacific Ocean.

On the 6th of March they fell in with a cluster of islands, named the Ladrões, or Isles of Thieves. Here they landed full of hope; but found the inhabitants existing in the most savage and uncivilized state, without any appearance of

moral order or social contract among them. The men were entirely naked, of an olive complexion, with long hair depending to their waists. The women were more decent in their appearance, having a partial covering of palm-tree leaves, and appeared to be very industrious. But while these were busied in domestic concerns, their husbands employed themselves in thieving abroad, and soon became so troublesome to their new guests, that the Spaniards, after threats, firing upon them, and burning some of their huts, to deter them from these practices, but all in vain, departed from thence and landed at Zamul, about thirty leagues distant. Here it should be remarked, that though these people seemed so incurably addicted to theft, it probably did not arise from any innate depravity; but from their imperfect notions of the sacred right of private property. When all things are in common, whatever pleases the fancy is taken without any sense of wrong. The inhabitants of the Ladrões, seeing what gratified them, perhaps, had no conception that they should be debarred from being gratified with what they saw.

Leaving Zamul, they soon came to Humuna, a pleasant island, and inhabited by a humane people, ready to accommodate the visitors with whatever refreshments the place supplied. Here they recruited their exhausted strength; and then passing between several more islands, touched at Buthuan, where they were honourably entertained by the king. The natives, though certainly unacquainted with Christian forms, were observed, or supposed, by Magellan, to make the sign of the cross at their meals. The king's palace had no more external marks of grandeur than a hay loft, being raised upon such high posts, that
it

it could not be entered without a ladder. These islanders regarded their guests with particular admiration, and even treated them as superiors in the scale of being. The soil was said to be so rich, that pieces of gold, of the size of hazelnuts, and some much larger, were sifted from the common mould of the country.

The king was a comely man, of an olive complexion. He was clothed in cotton; wore a dagger, with a gold hilt, by his side; and was decorated with a profusion of gold rings. Magellan presented his majesty with various coloured cloth, and distributed glasses, knives, and crystal beads among his attendants. It is related, that one of the islanders offered a Spaniard a crown of gold and a collar for six threads of crystal beads, but that the admiral would not permit such an unequal traffic to be carried on. If this is true, it evinces a moderation, which few of the Spaniards were inclined to imitate in their distant expeditions. The natives were a very lively people, and appeared to have no other religious rites among them, than a certain ceremony, which they practised, of lifting up their hands and eyes towards heaven, and calling on their god Abba. We are farther told, that they suffered their guests to erect a cross and a crown of thorns; but to this they were induced by a pious fraud of Magellan's, who persuaded them, that this cross would protect them from the dangers of lightning and tempest, to which this climate is very subject.

After sailing among several islands, most of which afforded fruits, goats, and poultry, which supplies proved extremely beneficial to the mariners, the fleet arrived at Zubut on the 7th of April. Here they fired a salute on entering the
harb

harbour, which at first threw the inhabitants into great consternation: but on the nature of the compliment being explained, they were speedily reconciled to their guests. The king, however, thought fit to demand tribute for touching on his coasts; but this Magellan flatly refused to pay. And his majesty having been told that these strangers were Portuguese, whose countrymen had stormed Calicut, and were renowned for their military achievements in India, judged it advisable to desist from his pretensions; and to study to render himself as agreeable as he could. Magellan, we are gravely told, had influence enough to prevail on this prince, his brother, and the queen, to receive the rite of spiritual ablution; and that a total abolition of idolatry took place throughout his dominions in the short space of eight days. That the prince or his people might be brought to the use of external forms, is not very improbable; but that they could be converted to Christianity was impossible. They could neither understand the language of Magellan, nor could he understand theirs: principles they could acquire none, without this medium of communication; but it is much to be feared, that, in former times, and perhaps now, rites are mistaken for essentials; and baptism, which is only the initiatory ceremony, is, by a figure of language, taken for religion itself.

After surmounting as many dangers as man could undergo; after seeing himself in possession of his wishes, and establishing his character for discernment and active skill to remotest ages, the time was now approaching, that Magellan was to meet his fate. Leaving Zebut, he proceeded to the Isle of Mathan. This was under the government

government of two kings, from whom the Spaniards demanded an acknowledgment of tribute. This being justly refused, an open rupture ensued; and the admiral, with only sixty Spaniards, gave battle to the natives, whose numbers have been calculated to amount to six thousand. After a long and sharp conflict, in which the loss on the side of the Indians was much less than might have been expected, and on both not very considerable; Magellan, being too far advanced, was wounded with a poisoned arrow, and pierced in the head with a lance, which terminated his life and exploits. Even his body was never recovered.

Some have maintained that he was dispatched by his own men, to whom his strict discipline had rendered him odious and intolerable. In former periods of the voyage, this might have been the case; but now having reached a land of plenty, and surmounted their principal difficulties, it can scarcely be believed, that the Spaniards would risk their own safety by violating his. Indeed, the most authentic accounts of this unfortunate transaction say, that his men were much disconcerted at his loss.

Though Magellan had not the honour of being the first circumnavigator of the globe, as he was cut off before the completion of his voyage, yet he shewed the practicability of the scheme; and those who followed him had no more claims to original discovery than the followers of Columbus; they, indeed, went farther; but they knew the track in which they were to go.

It is probable, however, that Magellan had very little idea of meeting with the straight that bears his name. His original thought was to coast along to the southward, as the land trended,

ed, and by perseverance, he persuaded himself; that a boundary would be found to the new continent as well as the old. By doubling the Cape of Good Hope, a passage was found into the Indian seas; and Magellan did not seem to doubt, but some other promontory existed, which would open a way to the Pacific Ocean. Thus original minds, by combination and reflection, may strike out plans, which, though clear to them, could never have been conceived by ordinary capacities, nor executed but by the first projectors.

But to return. After the death of Magellan, a company of his followers being invited to an entertainment on shore, were treacherously murdered; and only Don Juan Serrano, of all who landed, was reserved alive, in order to procure a large supply of fire arms and ammunition by way of ransom. But those who remained on board, fearful of being trepanned, would have no farther intercourse with this perfidious people, and sailed away, leaving the unfortunate Serrano to their mercy.

The company on board, which amounted to eighty men, held on their course towards the Moluccas, of which Magellan had received some intelligence before his catastrophe. At Behol they burned the ship Conception, and distributed the hands in the other two. From thence they proceeded to Pavilogan and Chippit, where there was gold, with plenty of goats, fruits, and spices. The natives treated them in a very amicable manner; and the prince stained his body with blood, as a symbol of the covenant of peace.

After touching at Caghinan and Puloan, they arrived at Borneo, after weathering a tempest. They found the island very populous. The king was a Moor, and observed great state. His capital

pital contained twenty-five thousand houses. Camphor, cinnamon, oranges, and lemons, were the principal productions of the country. While they lay here, they were attacked by an Indian fleet which they defeated, taking an Indian prince prisoner, who, through negligence or design, was permitted to escape.

Passing some other islands, they steered for the Moluccas; and, after sustaining another storm, reached Tiridore, the chief of these islands, on the 8th of November. Thus one object of the voyage was accomplished, to sail to the Moluccas by the west. They found these islands to be five in number, abounding in oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and rich spices. The inhabitants were Moors and Pagans; the latter of which, among other absurdities, were said to worship the first object they met in the morning; though, in point of superstition, the Mahometans, in general, exceeded them.

Having opened a warehouse, an advantageous trade commenced with the natives. Cloth, glass, and quicksilver, found a ready exchange for cloves and other valuable productions of those islands. Provisions were abundant and good, of which the Spaniards laid in a competent supply. At their departure, they were honoured by the attendance of the kings of several of the Moluccas, as far as Mare, where they took an affectionate leave.

The company was now reduced to forty-six Spaniards and thirteen Indians. In their course they touched at Timor, where ginger and white sandal wood abounded, as well as necessary provisions.

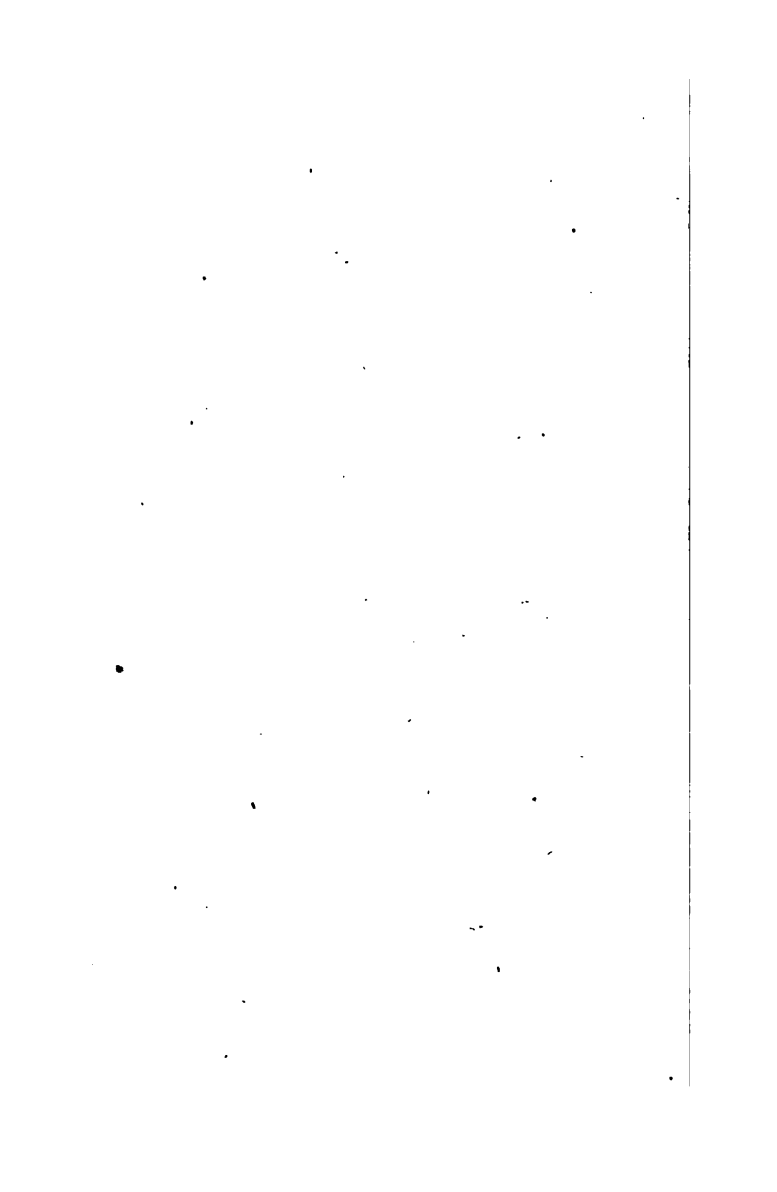
From hence they intended to shape their course for the Cape of Good Hope, but after long waiting for a favourable wind, they ran down to la-

titude 42 deg. south. Avoiding Mosambique, from an apprehension of meeting with the Portuguese, these adventurers were reduced to the last distress for provisions. In this situation they reached the Cape de Verd Islands, where, notwithstanding they had cause for fear, such was their pressing want, that they chose rather to risk being detained than to perish with famine. At first they were supplied with provisions; but, on landing again, thirteen of the crew were seized and made prisoners. The rest, fearful of the same fate, and unable to contend, set sail without them. Favourable gales attended their progress, and, on the 7th of September, they arrived in safety at the port of St. Lucar, under the conduct of John Sebastian Camo, after circumnavigating the globe in three years and thirty-seven days. Of the whole squadron, only one ship had the good fortune to return to Spain, and of two hundred and thirty-four officers and seamen, the complement at setting out, only thirteen Spaniards survived to visit their native land.

Don Sebastian Camo was received with very extraordinary honour by the Emperor Charles V. who, to distinguish him and his posterity for ever, assigned him the terrestrial globe for his arms, with the motto *PRIMUS ME CIRCUMDEDISTI*, *You have first surrounded me*. He, likewise, came in for many liberal rewards, which, had Magellan lived, would have been peculiarly his due.

END OF VOL. I.





By the KING'S BARGEHOUSE near LAMBETH CHURCH.







